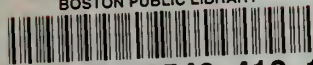
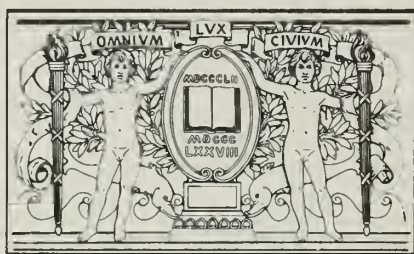


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Boston's West End

Department of Research and Strategy
Massachusetts Council of Churches

BOSTON'S WEST END

A STUDY OF CHURCH AND COMMUNITY

December, 1949

Department of Research and Strategy
Massachusetts Council of Churches

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PREFACE

The West End study, of which this report is a part, was undertaken at the request of the West End Ministers' Association. These ministers were confronted with the many complex problems consequent upon operation in a shifting central-city environment. To many the pattern of church work seemed unclear, overlapping and, on the whole, inadequate. Some were acquainted with and inspired by the collaborative self-study of the Protestant churches of East Boston under the guidance of the Department of Research and Strategy of the Massachusetts Council of Churches.

Therefore, they made formal application for the Department's aid in a thorough study of the community and its churches. A West End Study Committee including lay and ministerial representation from eight Protestant and Episcopal (1) cooperating churches and church agencies met on December 11, 1947, to discuss and adopt a prospectus for the study and for the subsequent development of a mutually acceptable strategy in the West End. (2) In their own words the purpose was

To conduct a study of the social and economic status and trends of the West End, its churches and agencies, with a view to guiding the churches and church agencies in their services to their constituency and the community and disclosing the responsibilities of the several denominations. . .

The ultimate objective involves the exploration of ways and means to meet the needs of the community and the successful execution of mutually acceptable plans.

At this initial meeting it was voted to invite the full participation of the Roman churches, small sects, sectarian missions and of the Jewish synagogues in the area. None of these, however, accepted the chairman's letter of invitation.

The Study Committee has held five subsequent meetings under the chairmanship of the Rev. Antony Regamey to consider verbal reports of findings illustrated by charts and maps and to discuss possible church strategy to meet community needs. The final oral report was presented to the committee

-
1. The two Episcopal churches in the West End, the Church of the Advent and the Church of St. John the Evangelist, adhere to the Anglo-Catholic tradition. At the suggestion of their representatives the phrase "Protestant and Episcopal" is used to designate the non-Roman, non-sect, Christian institutions in the West End. The phrase "the churches" will also be used to refer to this group unless specific additions or exceptions are made.
 2. A ninth group, the Charles Street Universalist Meeting House, organized after the study was under way and promptly affiliated with the Study Committee.

on May 21, 1949. Two June meetings considered and adopted proposals for West End strategy growing out of these findings.

The present volume compiles the findings of the entire study period together with the proposals for West End Strategy made by the local Study Committee. It is submitted for the consideration and action of the membership and official boards of the local Protestant and Episcopal institutions and their denominational executives.

Changes leading to more effective Christian work in the West End cannot be accomplished by non-resident research workers, no matter what their degree of expertness. They can only summarize the fact and the trends. The response, the constructive action needed, is the high privilege of the churchmen and churchwomen working directly "on the field." Their elected representatives composing the Study Committee have drawn up a realistic and challenging strategy which concludes the present report. We are confident that the understanding of the local laymen and ministers, their love of their neighbors and their will to advance His Kingdom are sufficient to meet every challenge triumphantly!

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INTRODUCTION

The Scope of the Study

The purpose of the present study is to gather together pertinent information about the West End of Boston, its people and its churches. It is only from knowledge of past and present relations of the community, its residents and its religious institutions that we can hope to develop sound future programs for each of our churches and, inclusively, an effective co-operative strategy for all.

Part I traces the historical development of the West End and the present status of its three distinct neighborhoods and seven census tract divisions. The extended study of West End life by Robert A. Woods and a group of pioneer social scientists, published in 1902 under the title of Americans in Process, has been invaluable for its information and insight on the earlier background of the present situation. Those aspects of the total pattern that involve distinctive special needs and that offer exceptional challenge to pioneering ministry are treated more extensively than others. Thus, the concentration of unattached aged on both sides of Beacon Hill, rooming house life and transiency in the area, the seriousness and the character of West End juvenile delinquency and the exceptional character of local store-front clubs for young people are explored more thoroughly. An effort has been made to draw upon contemporary sources of experience and insight for church action in relation to the problems in each special field.

Part II seeks to present information on the contemporary situation of each of our congregations and agencies located in the West End. The diversity of function among these churches and agencies limits the possibility and value of over-all comparison or contrast. They have, therefore, been grouped in relation to their present primary function, and each is considered separately.

Part III consists of the "Proposals for West End Strategy" adopted unanimously by the West End Study Committee of ministers and laymen after an extended period of consideration and discussion of the church and community data now compiled in the body of the present report.

Sources

The major sources utilized for this study include United States Census data, reports of the Boston Health Department, Boston School Committee, Boston Park Department, City Planning Board, and the Committee of Citizens to Survey the Social and Health Needs and Services of Greater Boston; compilations of social and economic data from the Community Studies Department of the Greater Boston Community Council, the Boston Juvenile Court and the Office of the State Commissioner of Probation; historical materials from the West End branch of the Boston Public Library and other sources; denominational yearbooks, schedules submitted by committees representing the West End churches and agencies; a household canvass of fourteen square

blocks and four streets in the West End, and numerous consultations and interviews. More specific references are given in the course of the text.

Acknowledgments

The Rev. William J. Villaume, Director of the Department of Research and Strategy, collaborated in the research. His aid in analyzing and evaluating the data and in consultation on the first draft of the text made substantial contribution to its present form.

The household canvassing was conducted by the Rev. Benjamin T. Lockhart, assisted by the Rev. Dr. Albert N. Kaucher. The staff prepared and mimeographed the study for distribution in its present form. Charts and maps are reductions from 31" x 23" sheets used as a basis for discussion in the Study Committee meetings. They were prepared, for the most part, by the Department staff.

This report has been made possible by the hearty cooperation and the ready assistance of the West End Study Committee and its chairman, the Rev. Antony Regamey. The ministerial and lay representatives from each of the nine Protestant and Episcopal churches and agencies gave many hours of their time and wisdom. Members of sub-committees shared in aspects of the research process itself. Extensive schedules regarding many phases of the status and programs of the participant groups were filled out by sub-committees drawn from the group membership.

The Director and Assistant Director collaborate in conducting a class on Research in Church and Community offered to candidates for theological and other advanced degrees. Several sections of the present report have been enriched by the investigations of class members. Specific acknowledgments are included in the text.

The members of the Department of Research and Strategy under the chairmanship of the Rt. Rev. Raymond A. Heron and particularly of the Department's Action Research Committee, with the Rev. Earl W. Douglas as Chairman, have given invaluable guidance and encouragement to the staff in the course of the West End study.

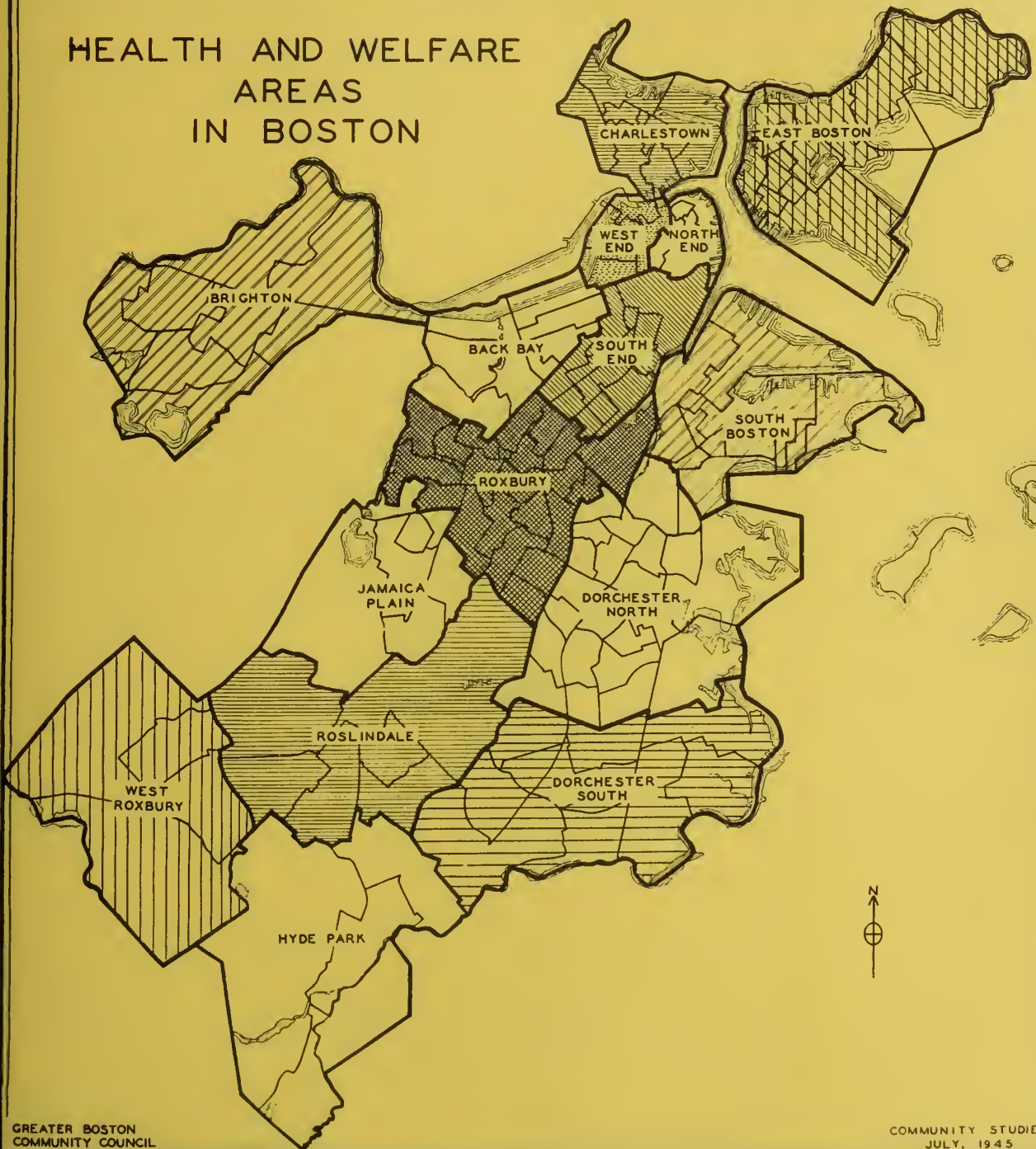
Glen W. Trimble

Assistant Director, Research and Strategy

Massachusetts Council of Churches

MAP I

HEALTH AND WELFARE AREAS IN BOSTON



NEIGHBORHOODS IN BOSTON



PART I

THE COMMUNITY SETTING

Chapter 1. The Area of Study

The Importance of Environment

An understanding of the community in which a church or church agency is located is essential to interpretation of its history, present functioning and future program. All institutions, including churches, grow out of the flow of common life and all reflect and influence the social processes of which they are an interdependent part.

The physical neighborhood and the human neighbors influence and condition the institutional church life. Only an informed and intelligent church can resist deterioration in a disintegrating neighborhood, although few churches can fail to gain in an expanding and increasingly prosperous community.

The first part of this study, therefore, is concerned with the West End itself, particularly those aspects of its history and circumstance which most directly affect group life. To the extent that we can discover social facts, trends and problems, we will have established a background for judgment as to the present effectiveness and future role of the churches and church agencies located in the West End and cooperating in this study. The needs of our neighbors are fundamentally important to Christian churches.

The West End Defined

A first responsibility is to determine the boundaries of our area of study. In the case of the West End this is not easily done. The section is an integral part of downtown Boston. It is located at the hub of the "Hub of the Universe." The time when it was actually a West End of the Boston settlement belongs to the remote past, as a glance at Map 1 will show.

This same map when compared with Map 2 reveals that even the Greater Boston Community Council is contradictory in its definition of the community's boundaries. The West End as a Health and Welfare Area is smaller than the three West End neighborhoods, Beacon Hill, the Back of Beacon Hill and the West End Proper. The difference consists in the addition of Census Tract F6 to the Back of Beacon Hill Neighborhood but the exclusion of the same census tract in defining the Health and Welfare area. In the latter case Census Tract F6 is consigned to the North End. The boundaries of "Health and Welfare Areas" or "Neighborhoods" as defined by the Greater Boston Community Council are not supposed to be arbitrarily selected. A Health and Welfare Area is presumed to be a major subdivision of the city of Boston, using the locally traditional and accepted name and "the common

conception" of the boundaries of the district. (3.) In the case of the West End the exclusion of the area extending eastward from the east side of Bowdoin Street to Tremont Street (Census Tract F6) is not supported by any "common conception" encountered locally in our field study. Actually, the later designation of F6 as a part of the Back of Beacon Hill Neighborhood is a tacit admission of its homogeneity with the West End. The earlier boundaries set for the "West End" Health and Welfare area have not, however, been corrected. Map 3 shows the West End including Census Tract F6 and delineates all census tracts with their street boundaries.

Our justification for including Census Tract F6 in the survey area does not rest on "common conception" alone, although local opinion surveyed was unanimous in maintaining that this area was an integral part of the West End. The fact is that the land used for residence in the survey area is clearly cut off from all North End residential land and forms a virtual island. This is illustrated on Map 4. (4.) To the south the Beacon Street boundary is bordered by the Boston Common and the Public Gardens. Beyond them, again, lies a portion of the central business district. On the west and north, beyond the Charles River Embankment, the Boston and Maine tracks and the North Station, the Charles River forms a natural barrier. The solid block of black at the northeast corner and along most of the east side of the map represents non-residential land. This is a major commercial and marketing area of Boston and it constitutes a man-made but, nevertheless, entirely effective barrier between the dwelling places of the West and North Ends of Boston. It was on this evidence that we have included the people and the churches of Census Tract F6 in the present study. (5.) It should be noted that the one point of contact between West End land used for dwellings and land similarly used elsewhere in Boston does not occur along the North End boundary but, rather, at the extreme southwest corner bordering the Back Bay section. This "isthmus" is more than a geographical accident. As will be seen, there is a real social continuity between the Beacon Hill neighborhood and the residents in the adjacent portion of the Back Bay.

-
3. See Boston Council of Social Agencies, Social Statistics By Census Tracts in Boston, Vol. II, July 1935, pp. 1-2
 4. Evidence that this separation of North and West End residence was clear cut by 1865 is contained in maps of "Boston's Commercial Expansion," in Firey, Land Use in Central Boston, p. 57. See also Woods, Americans in Process, p. 37
 5. This decision involves certain methodological problems since much of the available statistical data has been assembled on the basis of the Greater Boston Community Council Health and Welfare Area boundaries. Wherever possible the statistical totals for "the West End" will include Census Tract F6. Exceptions will be noted as they occur in the text.

MAP 3 - WEST END CENSUS TRACTS

SHOWING STREET BOUNDARIES



MAP 4 -LAND USED FOR DWELLINGS IN THE WEST
END AND ENVIRONS 1940



Chapter 2. The Historical Background (1.)

Changing Topography

During the more than 300 years since the first company of English Puritans landed at a point near the present Charles River Bridge in 1630, the West End has passed through the complete gamut of habitation from a rolling blueberry-patched pasture land, to a site for country homes, to a suburban residential section, to the present crowded area of city blocks.

In the beginning the land of the West and North Ends were "separated by a deep tidal inlet, covered with water at high tide, but at ebb presenting a dreary surface of mud flats, in extent about equal to the present Boston Common." Thus the present knob-shaped northern promontory of central Boston was then an open claw thrust at Charlestown across the river. On the westerly pincer the fields sloped back to the three heads of Beacon Hill, the "tri-mountain" from which Boston gained her second name, still preserved in Tremont Street.

Across the tidal inlet that separated the North End from the remote western pastures ran a ridge of land where Causeway Street now lies. The ridge suggested a dam, and "Mill Pond" was created a few years after the original settlement. The marsh was drained by a canal running across the peninsula to Boston Harbor and known for a century and a half as the Mill Creek. Throughout that span the Mill Creek was the accepted dividing line between the flourishing North End and the gradually developed "New Fields" to the West. (2.)

The West End is no longer a separate peninsula. At the beginning of the last century the Mill Pond was filled in. In 1828 the water was cut off from the Mill Creek. One historian observed that while Boston's original distinguishing features were its hills and coves, the work of men had seen to it that "its coves have swallowed up its hills."

1. Sources:

- Burnes, Jacob M.; West End House, 1934.
- Chamberlain, Allen; Beacon Hill, its Ancient Pastures and Early Mansions, 1925.
- Firey, Walter; Land Use in Central Boston, 1947.
- Hayward, John; A Gazetteer of Massachusetts, 1846.
- Spring, James; Boston and the Parker House 1630-1927, 1927.
- Whieldon, William W.; Sentry, or Beacon Hill--the Beacon and the Monument, 1889.
- Woods, Robert A.; Americans in Process, 1902.
- Short articles and other material from the files of the West End Library.

- 2. For a map of this section of Boston in 1722 see Woods, Robert A., Americans in Process, 1902, opposite p. 24.

This was the gradual fate that befell the three peaks of the tri-mountain. Beacon Hill, so named for its mariners' beacon, was subjected to extensive topographical alteration to reduce its summit to the level of the State House foundation. "Mount Vernon," just above Louisburg Square, was systematically deposited in the Charles River to form the "made land" west of Charles Street. This, as will be seen, was a part of a planned real estate development. The success of the venture led to the complete obliteration of Cotton Hill and the development of "exclusive mansions" at the site of the present Pemberton Square in the late 1830's.

One further topographical note. The barrier of Beacon Hill afforded shelter from the chill east winds to those inclined to settle on its southern slope. The northern slope, on the contrary, was especially exposed and, therefore, relatively undesirable. This constant natural situation is a partial explanation of the historical fact cited by Firey that "from the time of the Revolution down to the present day this [northern] slope has been occupied by lower-class families and has been but little influenced by its direct contiguity with the fashionable south slope, Beacon Hill proper."

At present, then, in the topography of the West End the slope of Beacon Hill rises abruptly eastward from Charles Street and southward from Cambridge Street to a comparatively level crest just north of Mt. Vernon Street. The southern slope of the Hill descends more gradually to the Beacon Street boundary of the West End. Northward from Cambridge Street and westward from Charles Street there is almost flat, near sea-level land. Much of this is "made" land, the rest was rolling pasture now leveled off.

The Early Days

The North End conflagration of the last quarter of the seventeenth century marked the end of the distinctly Puritan period of Boston life. Growing prosperity and rapidly increasing population, with the change in 1685 from colonial to crown government brought about marked alterations both in habits and ideals. The change from exclusive Puritanism was evidenced by the building of Christ Church on Salem Street in 1723, supported chiefly by the new English merchants and crown officials. The years up to and including the revolution in which the North End reached the height of its historic fame marked also the beginning of its decadence. It was on March 8, 1776, that nearly 1,000 of the inhabitants of the North End left Boston with General Howe, among them most of the wealthy and important families. In the period of reconstruction after the Revolution wealthy country families, many of them from Essex County, tended to turn westward and to establish their homes on the slopes of the tri-mountain. The social development of the West End was for many years in inverse ratio to the decay of the North End.

The West End was not, however, entirely uninhabited in colonial times. The southern slope of Beacon Hill and the land along the Charles River was first sought after as a likely section for rural life by those who desired to escape the strong, chilly east winds that blew in from the sea. Following two disastrous fires in 1676 and 1679 in the thickly-settled com-

mercial and residential North End, settlers became interested in "the New Fields" and large farm properties were bought by Phillips, Leverett, Lynde, Staniford, Chambers and Russell, whose names are handed down in the streets later cut through their pastures. Other parts of the open land were occupied by "rope walks." These were long, narrow sheds, sometimes over 700 feet in length, where rope and twine were spun for ship rigging and the fishing industry. Much of the industry of colonial times bordered the Mill Pond. There were located lumber, grain and chocolate mills and some distilleries.

At the beginning of the 18th century only two roads were laid out in the West End, Cambridge and Sudbury Streets. During the second quarter of the century, the West End became a distinct community. Leverett Street was cut through in 1730, and by 1733 all the older thoroughfares had been laid out and named. Organized religious and social life began with the establishment of West Church in 1736 on Lynde Street facing Cambridge Street. The selection of the site was remarkably prophetic. As will be seen, it remains the most strategic church location in all the West End. Unfortunately the congregation after a century and a half of work disbanded, and the fine church building (a later edifice) passed into the hands of the Boston Public Library.

About the time the church was founded a few wealthy families built mansions on Cotton Hill (now Pemberton Square) and on Bowling Green (now Bowdoin Square) near the new meeting house. For nearly a century this latter was a preferred residential neighborhood. By 1775 the cross streets in the vicinity of Bowdoin Square had essentially the outlines of today, but beyond this area there were few homes. The pest house and the Province hospital was located on Grove Street because of the remoteness of the locality. In 1784 the whole West End had just one meeting house and about 170 dwellings. The latter part of the century brought the extremes of poverty and wealth to the West End. After 1789, when slavery was abolished in Massachusetts, a substantial Negro population appeared in Boston and took over cheap dwellings around the north end of Joy Street, subsequently spreading over the entire north slope. This Negro colony persisted in this locale into the present century.

Simultaneously the foundations of the "elite" character of Beacon Hill were being deliberately planned. The major purposes of this plan have been effective to the present day, and the record is, therefore, important to an understanding of the strange social dichotomy of the West End. We quote at length from Dr. Firey, the emphasis is our own:

The construction of the New State House came at a propitious time, when upper-class people, many of recently-acquired wealth, were seeking a "proper" place in which to live. The New State House apparently lent an appropriate distinction to the Beacon Hill vicinity. In 1795, the very year of the State House's construction, a syndicate known as the Mount Vernon Proprietors was organized for the purpose of buying up land on Beacon Hill and laying out an appropriate arrangement of streets and lots. The members of this syndicate, consisting of Jonathan Mason, Harrison

Gray Otis and Charles Bulfinch, were all socially prominent, and Mason and Otis themselves built mansions on the Hill for their families. Thus a proper character to the Hill was set. To further establish the fashionable character of the projected district an elaborate plan was drawn up by Withington, calling for residences all of strictly mansion type, each surrounded by large estates, and with streets so designed as to minimize north-south traffic. This latter feature had a purpose rather obvious to one who knows modern Beacon Hill, for then as now the northern slope of the Hill was occupied by lower class families. The Mount Vernon Proprietors wished to ensure the upper class character of the southern slope and achieved this through minimizing north-south movement. . . (3.)

The Nineteenth Century - First Half

Thenceforth the West End grew rapidly in every direction. Woods writing in 1902 declares that in thirty years "it had outwardly much the appearance of today, and socially the character that it was to preserve" for the first half of the century. Despite the extremes represented by the aristocrats of Mt. Vernon Street and the "miserable huts" of the Negroes at the north end of Joy Street, most of the West End was a comfortable, fairly well-to-do residence area "splendidly representative of Anglo-Saxon American life." In this period the population was so stable that often three generations of the same family received their elementary education in the same school.

Already "cut off from the rest of Boston by the Common and the business sections," the West End developed a distinct local feeling and many of the characteristics of a small town. It was a community of family homes, fine schools and churches. The Mayhew School was the first public school in 1804, soon followed by the Bowdoin School and others. The English High School for Boys and the pioneering Girls High School, both serving wider areas, were located in the West End. The area had far more thriving and active churches in the late 1840's than it has today. Almost all of these were neighborhood rather than central churches. Seven of the church buildings built in the first half of the last century are still dedicated to religious use today. Four of the West End congregations now located in the West End have had a continuous life in that area of more than one hundred years.

The earliest church building still surviving was built in 1805 "by popular subscription from philanthropic citizens that the colored people of Boston might have a church of their own." Thus the "African Baptist Church," the oldest Boston church exclusively for Negroes, was provided with a sanctuary on Smith's Court, just off Joy Street. Through most of the century it remained a church for Negroes, but as the twentieth century dawned, "St. Paul's" became a Jewish synagogue, registering "the curious

social displacement that is coming about in that part of the West End." Today, reflecting the continuing process of population displacement, the Congregation Anshe Libavitz has dwindled, and the original pews and classic colonial interior serve a scattering of downtown businessmen for early morning or evening worship.

In 1806 the oldest West End congregation built its new West Church on the strategic Cambridge Street site of its earlier meeting house. The very handsome interior was probably designed by Asher Benjamin. In 1846 Hayward's Gazetteer tells us that there were 114 pews on the lower floor and 50 in the galleries. Before the end of the century the fashionable congregation had scattered to the suburbs, and the church had become the West End Public Library.

A year later, with Asher Benjamin again the probable architect, the "Third Baptist Church" was completed on newly-made land at Charles and Mt. Vernon Streets. So the Charles Street Meeting House came into being "at a cost of twenty-seven thousand dollars." In the intervening years several congregations, including Negro Methodists, have occupied the building. After an interval of secular use, it has lately been restored to church use as the central Boston meeting house for the Universalists.

The earliest surviving local congregation has also the only church building in continuous use by the same society since the first half of the last century. This is the Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian). The original Boston Society was organized in 1818 and was supported largely by Beacon Hill residents. After some years of rented halls in and near the West End, the present large church on Bowdoin Street opposite Mt. Vernon Street was completed in 1845. Hayward's Gazetteer of the following year gives a vivid and detailed description which indicates that the original exterior and interior remain almost unchanged today.

The Unitarians founded a Bulfinch Street Society in 1822, and "the house in Bulfinch Street was dedicated May 6, 1823." Curiously, neither the Society nor the house are related to the present Unitarian society at Bulfinch Place Chapel on the corner of Bulfinch Street. The present congregation was, however, resident in the West End from the beginning. It was organized by Dr. Joseph Tuckerman in 1826 and worshiped at locations on Friend Street and Pitts Street (1836) before building the present chapel on Bulfinch Place in 1869.

The "Twelfth Congregational Church" dedicated its massive building on Chambers Street in 1824. Just thirty-eight years later it was rededicated as St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church and remains so today--a continuing symbol of the changed tide north of Cambridge Street. Congregationalists were also the sponsors of the Bowdoin Street Church. Its "stone house" was dedicated in 1831 (4.) but, again, the Congregationalists gave way,

4. One account, perhaps legendary, has it that the architect also designed the Charles Street Prison. Both are of massive stone.

this time to the Episcopal Church of the Advent in 1864. The Church of the Advent was in turn succeeded in 1882 by the present occupants, the mission priests of the Society of St. John the Evangelist (Episcopalian).

Episcopalians less drawn to Anglo-Catholicism consecrated Grace Church, "a beautiful church on Temple Street," in 1836 but worshiped there only until 1865 when the Methodists from North Russell Street moved in to stay. These Methodists had branched out from the North End First Church and built on North Russell Street in 1839. Their house of worship now shelters the Hebrew congregation Beth Hamadresh Hagodol.

The fourth local congregation dating from the first half of the eighteenth century was that of the Church of the Advent which was organized in 1844 and began meeting in a hall on Merrimac Street.

At least seven other religious groups whose congregations and church buildings have now departed from the West End were active in this period. There was a Green Street Congregational Church from 1823 until 1846. Two African Methodist Episcopal congregations, Zion on North Russell Street and Bethel on Cambridge Street, organized in the late thirties. The Chardon Street Chapel organized in 1839, only to have its flock stolen by the Millerites. The building housed the West Society of Universalists from 1844.

Meanwhile the Miller Tabernacle was erected on the site of the present Old Howard theater. William Miller's sensational and dated prophecies of the end of the world brought a following so numerous that the present Old Howard building was constructed, but the theater took over as the prophecies failed, and the Millerite movement collapsed. At least in legend the robed "saints" prayed through the night on the roof, and when no ascension occurred, the building changed hands. The casting aside of robes, it seems, is an old tradition in the present home of burlesque.

Most famous of these departed churches was the Bowdoin Square Baptist Church, long a serious central city rival to Tremont Temple. Hayward tells us that in 1846 it could seat 1,300 and that it was "built in the most substantial manner, and for neatness and good taste, is not excelled by any structure of the kind in the city." In 1900 the "Tabernacle" still retained 500 members, but today the telephone company's office building stands on its site, and the congregation has long since merged with others outside the West End. The last in this parade of ghosts is the First Presbyterian Church on Phillips Place from 1846. Church, street and congregation have been swallowed up by the downtown business section.

The Nineteenth Century - Second Half

Robert Woods' brilliant sentence summary of the course of development between 1850 and 1902 holds good for thirty years beyond the latter date; "The important changes henceforth were the gradual imperceptible ones incidental to the pressure from behind of business and immigration." Business, then, was the first enemy of the home life of the West End. The growth of the city's trade drew in more and more persons, chiefly single

men, who desired residence near to their places of work. "Widows and spinsters of the West End opened their doors, thankful for this new means of breadwinning at a time when needlework and teaching were the only occupations for American women." Boarding houses, not tenements, made the first inroads on the old community. The business district itself expanded to rout the fashionable mansions round Bowdoin and Pemberton Square. This twin encroachment of downtown business and of downtown workers has been and remains a constant factor in the West End situation.

More overwhelming, though perhaps less permanent, were the sweeping tides of invasion by foreign-born groups. The West End has been a second, not a first, stop in immigrant transition in Boston. The North End received the initial impact and then, some years later, the overflow swept into the West End.

First came the Irish. Following the famine of 1846 almost the total immigration to Boston for ten years was Irish. In 1850 the West End had 20,518 residents, and about a fifth of this number was of Irish extraction. By 1855 the Irish constituted one-fourth of the 23,500 population. The peak was reached in 1880 when the 10,000 Irish outnumbered the American-born by 3,600. Then the tide turned and has been ebbing ever since. Nevertheless in 1895 the Irish total of 7,200 was the leading nationality group. It was the Irish flood that formed the background for the long political dynasty of Martin Lomasney in the West End.

Next came the Jews. At the crest of the Irish wave in 1880 there were only a few hundred Jewish people in the West End, most of these of German origin. Continental pogroms brought Russian and then Polish Jews to Boston, where they settled first in the North End displacing the Irish. They in turn were gradually forced out by the later immigrant Italians. "When the North End reached the point of human saturation, the less persistent material--that is, the Jews and the Irish--found its way to neighboring places, leaving the Italians in possession." Exactly this social process recurred after the turn of the century and up to recent times in the West End. But at the century's beginning the Irish and the Jews held the field, at that point in almost equal force, although the Irish population was declining and the Jewish still rising.

The Italian tide had just begun. In 1885 there were only 125 persons of Italian birth. Ten years later there were 1,100, yet in 1902 "migration to this section from the North End continues to be more largely Jewish than Italian." Some mention should be made of other groups. In 1895 there were about 1,400 British and 2,000 "British-Americans," 800 Portuguese and a scattering of other immigrants. The more than century-old colony of thoroughly American but, nevertheless, out-group Negroes persisted on the "wrong side" of Beacon Hill. About 3,000 of them occupied "a fairly well-defined area around Phillips Street."

The sharp change in the type of resident in the West End was deliberately encouraged by a drastic transformation in its architecture. Family homes gave way to tightly-packed, multi-family tenements. The immigrant influx "made tenements a more profitable real estate venture than rooming

houses," and, therefore, "swell fronts" of four and more stories crowded into every inch of space north of Cambridge Street and most of the north slope of Beacon Hill. Cheap materials and construction, inadequate lighting, little or no plumbing, buildings flush with the sidewalk and crowding every inch of the lot, a general ugliness--these became, and remain, the pattern for most of the West End beyond Beacon Hill. From the proud position of boasting two wards with the fewest inhabitants per house in 1845, the West End had sunk by 1901 to acknowledging the most crowded ward in all of Boston. Much of it had become, and more was becoming, a slum. Thomas Burns in his book, The West End House, tells us that

The story of living conditions in the West End prior to 1900 is the story of the congested section of any large city before sanitation, housing laws, and pure food acts came into being. The doors of immigration were wide open, sending into our already crowded district friends and relatives from Austria, Hungary, Russia, Poland, Rumania and Italy, whose length of stay was to be determined by their economic advancement. It was a case of harboring in the smallest area the greatest number of people. . . In a survey of our district made at this time, hardly a house in the West End did not contain one or more occupants afflicted with consumption. Sweat shops were rife--living conditions exceedingly bad. Bowdoin Square, Howard, Green, Court, Leverett, Causeway and Cambridge Streets, once the homes of the aristocracy, were now dotted with barrooms and cheap lodging houses. . . Every conceivable sort of vice that makes for a slum flourishes along the outer fringe of our section. . .

One form of response to this drastic new situation was a variety of charitable and social service enterprises. "More nearly than any other American city," said Woods, "Boston resembles London in inheriting from the past a legacy of charitable societies." After surveying the work of those primarily concerned with dispensing financial relief, he turns to the recreational and social service agencies of the community. Still surviving fifty years later are the City Wayfarers Lodge, the West End Public Library, the Sunnyside Day Nursery and the Elizabeth Peabody House. The description of the recreational opportunities at the Charlesbank would seem to indicate that it was better equipped to render active service then than now.

A park extending along the river front the whole distance between the Cragie and West Boston bridges. This park is under the direction of the Municipal Park Commission. There are no out-of-door bathing facilities, but hot and cold baths are furnished the year round, the two sexes occupy separate buildings. An open-air gymnasium adjoins each of these bathing establishments; and the women may continue athletic exercises through the winter in a gymnasium under the same roof with their bath. The women's gymnasium as well as a spacious playground for children, is in charge of the Massachusetts Emergency and Hygiene Association. The Charlesbank includes a pleasant resort with shaded walks and seats and an attractive view of the river.

The Churches in 1900

A major resource for all who wish to understand the West End is the remarkably thorough and penetrating sociological study of the area made by a group headed by Robert A. Woods, head of the South End House and a Harvard professor. His Americans in Process, a study of the North and West Ends, was published in 1902 and is invaluable for historical background, for still relevant insight and for statistical data running parallel to almost all the community aspects of the present study. Some of the most pertinent material will be cited in the later chapters of this section, but real students of the West End should not fail to read the book in its entirety.

To Robert Woods we owe almost all of the following analysis of the West End churches at the beginning of the century. (5.) "There is in the West End," declared the study, "a larger constituency available for Protestant ministrations than in the North End. This is true chiefly on account of the colored population." No better illustration of the shifting composition of the central-city population could be found. Today less than 1 per cent of the West End people are Negroes. There were just 232 resident in 1940, but in 1902 there were "about 3,000" and "the West End has ever been the great habitat of the colored race in Boston." No less than five West End churches served segregated Negro congregations, and almost all the churches had some Negro members. "Within half a mile of Beacon Hill there are few churches not excepting the Roman Catholic into which they fail to find their way."

Even in 1902, however, the Negro exodus from the West End was well under way, although the region remained a central gathering place for Negro social life. The five churches were already central-city rather than neighborhood institutions, and several were having difficulty in maintaining operation. The five were the Zion Methodist founded in 1836 and worshipping on North Russell Street, the Charles Street Methodist, the Revere Street Methodist, the Twelfth Baptist on Phillips Street and St. Augustine's Episcopal also on Phillips Street. A sixth, the African Baptist on Smith's Court, had just given way to a synagogue after nearly one hundred years of continuous existence. By 1933 only the Charles Street Methodist and a handful at "Grace Temple," Baptist, on Cambridge Street survived. Today there is no Negro church in the West End, and very few Negro members on any church roll. The urgent need that Woods' group saw for additional Negro missionary work has hardly "proved out" as long-range Protestant strategy.

Woods in his day, as we in ours, was most concerned as to whether each of the churches was "establishing vital points of contact with its neighborhood." On this count only St. Augustine's among the Negro churches was rated favorably. That church has another claim to our interest. It was

5. See also his map of the "Chief Institutions and Meeting Places," Woods, Americans in Process, opp. p. 320

founded and conducted by the Cowley Fathers of the Church of St. John the Evangelist and by the Sisterhood of St. Margaret of Louisburg Square. St. John's and St. Margaret's continue to reside in the West End and still maintain their concern for "vital points of contact" with their neighborhoods.

Four different Episcopal groups, in addition to St. Augustine's, operated in the West End during the period between 1850 and 1902. The Church of the Advent, "outgrowth of the Catholic revival," moved from its hall on Merrimac to Green Street in 1847, then into the "stone house" on Bowdoin Street in 1864 and finally in 1875 to their present location on Mt. Vernon near the Charles River. Advent was succeeded on Bowdoin Street by St. John the Evangelist which continues there today. The character of St. John's as well as their location remains unchanged. The 1902 description requires no modification:

The Church of St. John the Evangelist, with its monastic clergy, holds a unique place among the Episcopal churches of Boston. From the character of its worship and discipline, it appeals to Episcopalians of extreme ritualistic tendencies scattered throughout the city. Thus it is the church of a special class rather than of a particular locality.

One aftermath of the St. Augustine mission work is that St. John's retains a number of Negro families among its membership. Grace Church on Temple Street gave way to First Methodist in 1865. The fourth Episcopal enterprise was St. Andrew's on Chambers Street launched as a mission of Trinity and sponsored by Phillips Brooks. The St. Andrew's buildings now house the Heath Christian Center (Baptist), and the earlier church had much of the social concern which characterizes the present enterprise. St. Andrew's in 1902 had 150 communicants and "nearly as many members of the Sunday School, . . .at all of the services the number of children present is noticeable." The parish house activities included a medical dispensary for women and girls, a mutual aid society, social clubs for boys and girls and a city-conducted kindergarten.

The First Methodist church, in the judgment of the Woods' group, was weakly rooted in its neighborhood. Their statement merits quotation in its entirety for comparison and contrast with the circumstances half a century later:

The First Methodist congregation is another example of a fairly prosperous church which touches at only a few points the life of the neighborhood in which it worships. Of its four hundred enrolled members, fully one-half live at a distance from the church building, although a somewhat larger proportion of the attendants upon its services come from within a radius of half a mile. The church missionary on her round of calls visits in Forest Hills, Revere, Brookline, Somerville and Charlestown, as well as in the West and North Ends.

More community-centered at that time was the Bulfinch Place Chapel

built in 1869. "About two hundred families and individuals" were receiving ministry in a clearly church-centered program. "Under the leadership of its present pastor," the study comments, "the church has instituted a number of changes in the direction of a social ministry. To a slight extent this unsectarian work touches Jews and Italians." Special efforts were being made to reach and serve the "lodging-house class." Clearly, the social environment of Bulfinch Place was close to its present pattern fifty years ago.

The Broadway Tabernacle (Baptist) at Bowdoin Square also made an effort to reach the lodging house tenants but shunned a social-service program and restricted its activity to "distinctively religious lines." Three-quarters of its 500 members already lived outside the West End. In this combination of facts may perhaps be found a large part of the explanation for the disappearance of the Tabernacle from the West End scene.

The area around Bowdoin and Scollay Squares was already "that part of the West End where the social outcasts of both sexes congregate," or, through which they pass," so four rescue missions and the Salvation Army were hard at work. One of these missions, the Merrimac, survives as, of course, does the Salvation Army. The Salvation Army in the Woods group's judgment rendered its "chief service" in "witnessing to the existence of a real need rather than in meeting that need."

Present-day prophets of the West End future may well take warning from the example of the Woods group. Summing up the church picture as they saw it, they declared flatly, "Taking the West End as a whole, therefore, it is quite clear that Protestantism is passing. . . The religious issue, in all its depth of meaning to personal and public welfare and progress, so far as it concerns the actual constituent life of these two districts, lies with the Roman Catholic and Jewish systems." In the perspective of fifty years it is at least clear that the Jewish system is in more immediate danger of "passing" in the West End than are the non-Roman Christian churches. Despite the fact that the "chief" support from the Negro people has almost wholly disappeared, other sources of support which were completely unforeseen by the 1902 social scientists have propped up the supposedly collapsing structure. The deathbed patient survived his diagnosticians by forty-seven years.

And After--

The developments in the West End in the first half of the twentieth century have followed the pattern of the last half of the nineteenth. "The important changes henceforth were the gradual imperceptible ones incidental to the pressure from behind of business and immigration." Italian overflow from the North End continued to displace the earlier Irish and Jewish residents. St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church became dominantly Italian in its constituency. A new Roman church for Polish people was founded. The Negro colony almost wholly disappeared from the district. The close of the period of wholesale immigration brought an aftermath of relative stability and the beginning of a backflow of "native" stock to the West End. The Lomasney political dynasty faded. Cambridge and

Charles Streets were converted increasingly to business use. More and more mansions were adapted to serve as apartments. Some churches faded, out, others tried to adjust their programs to the new world around them. The Salvation Army launched a successful day nursery program. St. Andrews on Chambers Street closed its doors. The Baptist Heath Christian Center, begun on Staniford Street in 1911, assumed the Chambers Street properties in 1924. The mission never succeeded in rallying a resident congregation and concentrated on social service to the neighborhood. The total population rose and ebbed with the swing of the economic pendulum from depression to prosperity to depression. However, the over-all tendency was for a dwindling population as encroaching business and housing decay left less and less habitable dwelling space.

This is the background. Let us turn now to a closer view of the contemporary community, its people, its problems, and its probable future.

Chapter 3. The Neighborhoods and the People

A Divided West End

While it is true that the West End has been "cut off from the rest of residential Boston" for a century or more, it does not follow that it is itself a homogeneous community. On the contrary, the most striking and important fact about the West End is the sharp divergence between the social character of the south slope of Beacon Hill and the rest of the West End. The West End is not one community, it is two. It is not one neighborhood, it is three. All generalizations, therefore, about "the West End as a whole" must be instantly suspect. Statistical totals for the West End are more likely to blur sharply divergent situations than to present a typical pattern.

We have seen that the social difference between the two slopes of the hill has a long history and was, in its inception, deliberately planned. It remains the outstanding fact of the life of the district as stressed by Dr. Firey:

Throughout the nineteenth century and right down to the present. . . Beacon Hill consistently maintained its fashionable character. Directly contiguous to it, occupying the northerly slope of the hill and extending across Cambridge Street to North Station is the West End. No sharper contrast in physical appearance, economic well-being, or social prestige could be imagined than exists between Beacon Hill proper--occupying the south slope--and the West End. What Josiah Curtis said of the district in 1860 is as pertinent today: "This region is inhabited by many of our most opulent, as well as many of our most indigent citizens." This social dichotomy between two directly contiguous neighborhoods has prevailed since the original development of the hill. Today the north slope is a heterogeneous area of Jewish and Italian immigrants, transient roomers and activities that are morally ostracized by the rest of the community. Owing to the anomie and anonymity of the neighborhood, prostitution and other vicious activities flourish on this side of the Hill. Morally-emancipated persons who crave a bohemian pattern of life have settled in portions of the area, sometimes developing their own private courts extending off the main streets. No more than three minutes away, over the summit of the Hill, one finds dwellings occupied by some of the oldest and most respected families of Boston.

Every West End religious enterprise has learned from experience the almost insurmountable difficulties attendant on attempting to bring together the "two worlds" living side by side in the West End.

The Neighborhoods

The Greater Boston Community Council of social agencies has traced the outlines of what it feels to be three distinct neighborhoods in the




West End. These have been named as Beacon Hill, the Back of Beacon Hill and the West End Proper. The three are pictured on Map 5 accompanying this section of our study. In general Beacon Hill comprises the south slope of the hill from the Charles River to Joy Street. The Back of Beacon Hill is the north slope descending to Cambridge Street from the Charles River to Joy Street; it then is extended southward to the Beacon Street boundary of the West End and northward between Chardon and Hanover Streets to Haymarket Square. The West End Proper is the balance of the West End north of Cambridge Street and west of Chardon Street, extending to the Charles River.

It might well be asked why the State House is thus located on the "back" of Beacon Hill as are the fashionable residences between Charles Street and Embankment Road south of Cambridge Street. The explanation lies in the fact that the neighborhood lines were drawn in conformity with the previously established Federal census tract boundaries, except in rare emergency cases. This was necessary because the greater proportion of population and social data is derived from the Federal Census and would not be available for application if the census tract boundaries were ignored. Unfortunately, a number of the census tract boundaries in the West End fall considerably short of the norm of defining homogeneous areas. A comparison of Map 5 with Map 3 will show that Tract H4 runs all the way from Beacon Street to the Charles River at the north. Thus it actually includes typical Beacon Hill residence on the east side of Joy Street, the State House and a strip of Mt. Vernon Street generally accepted as being "proper" Beacon Hill, a key portion of the back of the Hill and a substantial part of the West End proper. Faced with this dilemma, the Community Council severed Tract H4 at the Cambridge Street line assigning the southerly portion to the Back of Beacon Hill (despite the handful of south slope residents), and the northerly portion to the West End Proper. Methodologically this involved a mathematical formula for crediting each neighborhood with a portion of Tract H4 totals. This technical tangle somewhat decreases the value of all social statistical tabulations on a neighborhood basis, and in the present study most of this material will be presented by census tracts. Thus the lack of homogeneity in Tract H4 will be confined to that tract alone. We should not, however, lose sight of the fact that there is a degree of real neighborhood consciousness in the various sections of the West End and that this is fairly accurately reflected by the three-way partition decided upon by the Community Council.

Certainly Beacon Hill is a distinct and homogeneous neighborhood consciously holding its skirts aloof from the surrounding area. It has long had its own "Improvement Association," primarily concerned with resisting commercial invasion, preserving its "quaint" landmarks and cobblestones and maintaining the upper-class character of the Hill. Walter Firey's recently published study of Land Use in Central Boston makes an extended analysis of the amazing persistence of Beacon Hill as "the traditional center of Boston's upper class" while other central-city fashionable areas bloomed and faded. We are not here primarily concerned with his strong case for the proposition that the very existence of Beacon Hill at the heart of central Boston refutes most of the sociological theories of ecological city patterning and economic determinism in the use of urban space.

MAP 5 - WEST END NEIGHBORHOODS



- | | |
|---|---------------------|
|  | BEACON HILL |
|  | WEST END PROPER |
|  | BACK OF BEACON HILL |

What we are concerned with is his evidence that "spatially referred values," the 150-year social prestige of Beacon Hill, has maintained it long after other fashionable centers have faded, and may maintain it at least to some degree, for many years to come. Meanwhile it has served as a bulwark against invading business interests and has tended to root and stabilize the entire West End as a residential area in the center of a metropolis. This evidence is very relevant to the planning of church strategy in the West End, and to relating the chances of this area for continued residential use to the probable future of such other central-city areas as the North and South Ends and the Back Bay. The "spatially referred values" attached to Beacon Hill exert a strong influence for the preservation of the West End as an area of central-city residence in Boston.

Beacon Hill has its own internal differences. Dr. Firey tells us that "Today, as before, the streets nearest the Common denote the greatest status. Beacon Street, described by Oliver Wendell Holmes as 'the sunny street that holds the sifted few,' enjoys the greatest prestige; Chestnut Street has the wealthiest families and was able to maintain its exclusive character during the 1880-1905 recession somewhat better than other streets; Mount Vernon Street, though it has a high proportion of old families, is more impoverished and is not 'kept up' so well. Pinckney Street presents all extremes, ranging from Italian and Jewish tenements to the homes of old Yankee families." He also points out that in the present century the residences between Charles Street and the river running north to Cambridge Street have come to be regarded as within the bounds of "proper" Beacon Hill. On Mount Vernon below Charles two of the churches of our study, the Church of the Advent and the Charles Street Universalist Meeting House, are located. At the opposite end of Mount Vernon on Bowdoin Street stands the Church of the New Jerusalem. This latter is in the gerrymandered Census Tract H4 but, standing just across Bowdoin from the State House and Mount Vernon Street, it belongs nevertheless to "proper" Beacon Hill.

As the title "Back of Beacon Hill" implies, the north slope is "improper" in terms of social prestige. While 311 families listed in Boston's Social Register live on the south slope (a number greater than 50 years ago), only 24 remain on the north slope. In a few steps one descends from the "Old England" atmosphere of Beacon Hill into an area of littered streets, shoddy tenements and rooming houses, cheap shops and teeming life.

There remains the question of justifying the division of this "real West End" into two neighborhoods, the Back of Beacon Hill and (anomalous name!) the West End Proper. A major reason is the fact that the two are separated by a wide major traffic artery, Cambridge Street, running from the Cambridge Bridge to Scollay Square. Later as we analyze the social and economic characteristics of each neighborhood and census tract it will be seen that there are significant differences in life on the back of the Hill and deep in the West End. The former is the characteristic rooming house area for single men and women, childless couples and downtown workers, many of them of Yankee or northern European stock. Across Cambridge Street families--and large families--are far more dominant. The Jewish and Italian population is much greater. Some sections are

among Boston's worst slums.

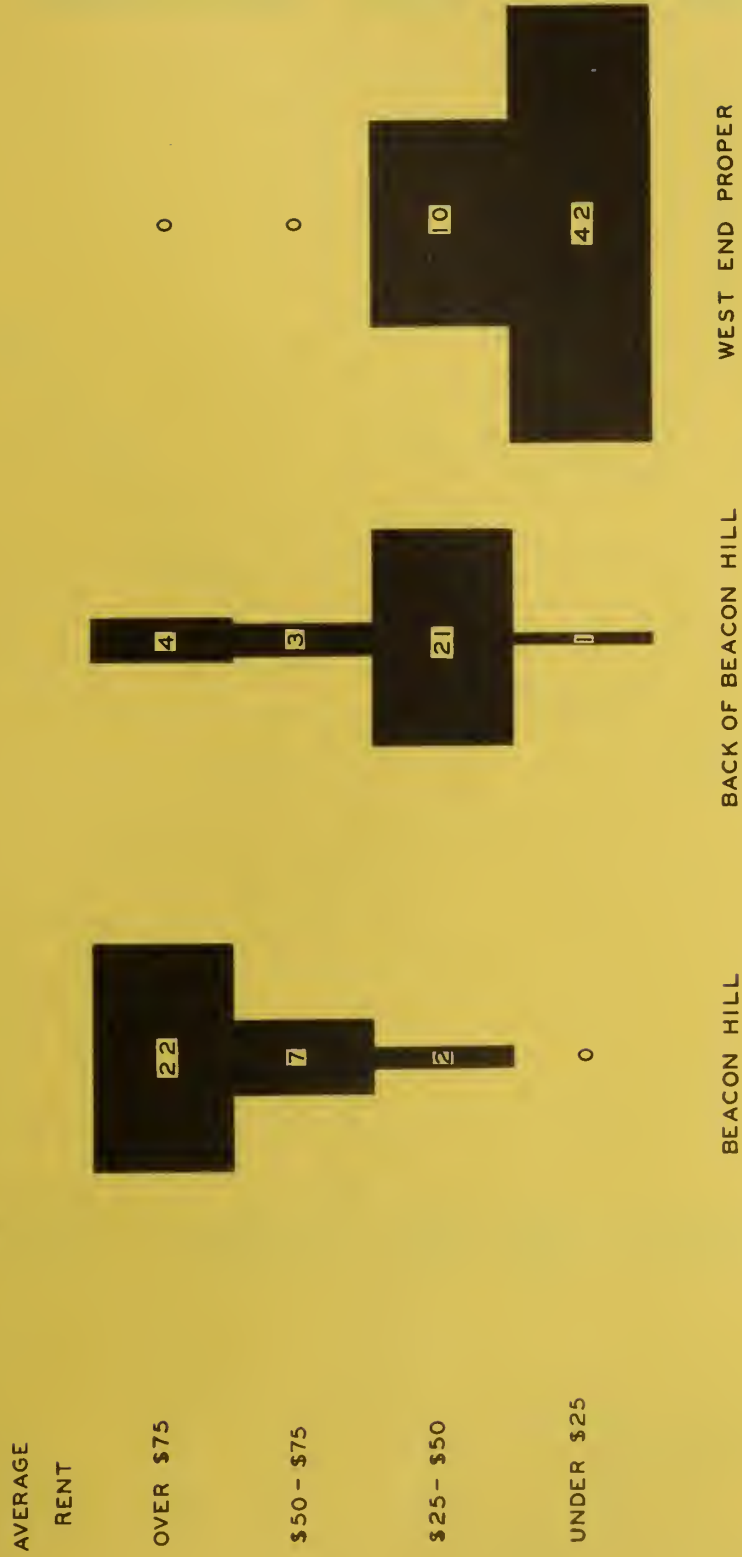
The fact that the three neighborhoods do constitute three distinct layers of standard of living is graphically portrayed in the accompanying Chart 1, "Average Rent by Blocks in West End Neighborhoods, 1940." Average rent has long been recognized as perhaps the most significant index of general living standards. Here may be seen both the degree of overlapping and the extent of differentiation among the three neighborhoods. Only two of the thirty-one blocks comprising Beacon Hill fall into the upper rent bracket for the West End Proper. The actual average rents for the closest blocks emphasize the separation. The block with the lowest average rent in 1940 on Beacon Hill still maintained an average of \$45.10. The highest average rental for any block in the West End Proper was \$33.23. Between the two, then, there was a wide gulf fixed. While the Back of Beacon Hill had a few blocks sharing every bracket, twenty-one of twenty-nine are grouped between \$25 and \$50 along with the upper quarter of the West End Proper. The bulk of the Back of Beacon Hill, therefore, was two steps away from the typical Beacon Hill block and one step away from the typical block in the West End Proper. Incidentally, two of the four Back of Beacon Hill blocks in the over \$75 range were the one off Beacon and Joy and the one below Charles already referred to as being "proper" Beacon Hill. The great extremes are glimpsed in the fact that while Beacon Hill had seven blocks with average rent in excess of \$150, more than half the blocks in the West End Proper had 1940 rents under \$20. The highest average rental was \$217.14 on Beacon Street, the lowest \$13.31 near the North Station. These, then, are the neighborhoods of the West End--a three-decker sandwich of divergent layers jammed into an area never more than one-half mile wide from west to east or three-quarters of a mile deep from south to north.

How Many People?

Chart 2 pictures the roller-coaster drop of population in the West End since 1910 when the present census tract lines were drawn and when the district was close to its peak number of residents. (1.) Through the ensuing thirty-five years the decline has been constant, but the rate of decline has been variable. The outstanding fact remains that the 1945 population was only slightly more than 54% of the 1910 total. In the span between 1920 and 1930 the West End lost 12,671 residents, a 31% loss as against a city of Boston gain for the same period of 4.5%. In the succeeding ten years the rate of loss declined to 2.7%, but even this was more than twice the Boston rate of loss for the same years. The 7.7% rate of loss from 1940 to 1945 would indicate that the tendency is for the West End to lose population more rapidly in years of relative prosperity than in years of economic hardship. The projected estimates from state authorities would indicate a continued moderate rate of loss of about 20% over a

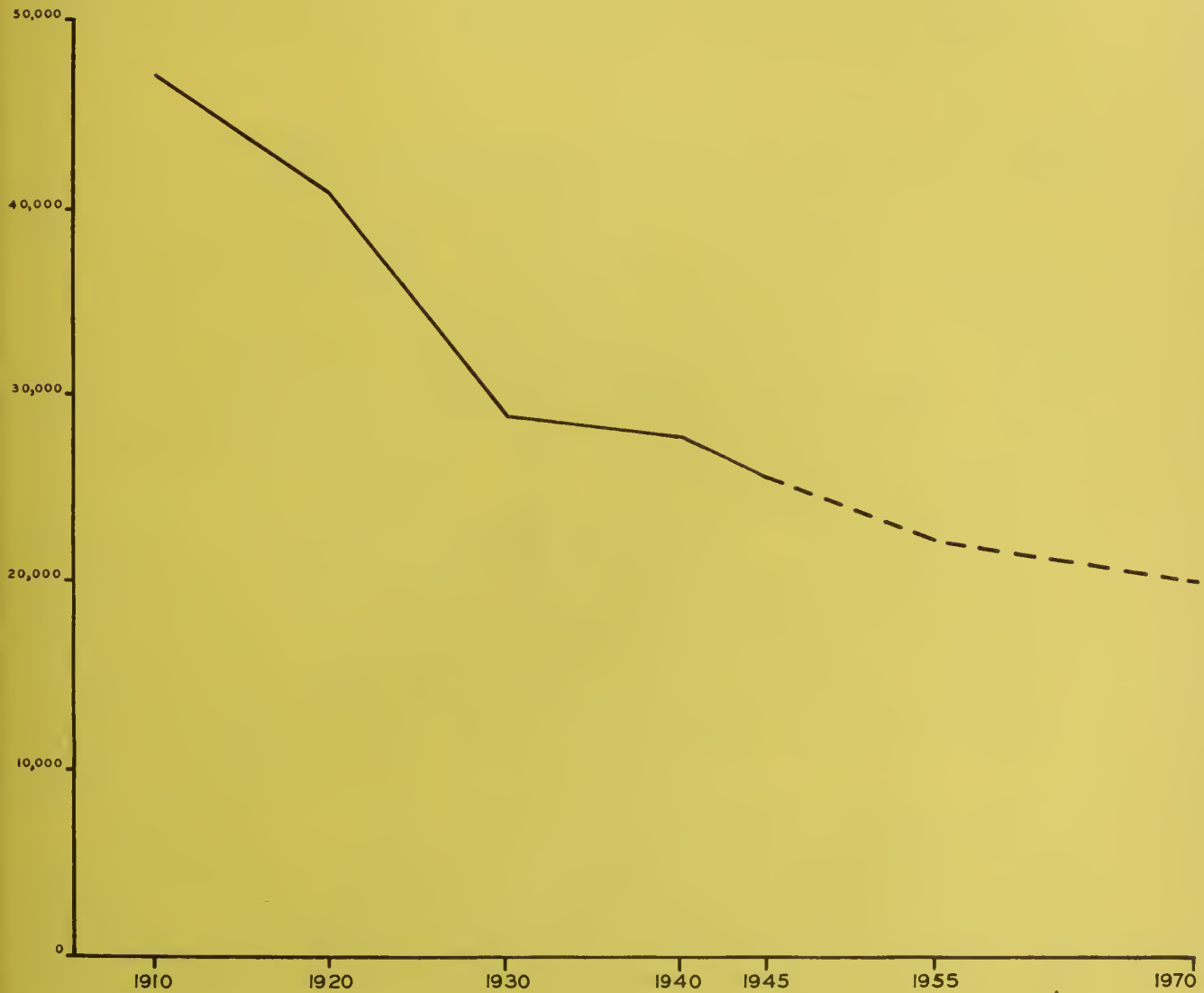
1. As a consequence of the inclusion of the 1945 State census figure for which a census tract breakdown is not available, F6 was not included in any of the totals for Chart 2.

CHART I - AVERAGE RENT BY BLOCKS IN WEST END NEIGHBORHOODS 1940



FIGURES IN EACH PYRAMID BANK DENOTE
NUMBER OF BLOCKS IN THAT RENT BRACKET

CHART 2 - POPULATION TREND IN THE WEST END*



LEGEND

1910 - 46,477

1920 - 40,699

1930 - 28,026

1940 - 27,278

1945 - 25,178

1955 - 22,000

1970 - 20,000

1945 - ESTIMATE BASED ON WARO REPORTS
OF THE STATE CENSUS

1955 AND 1970 - PROJECTED ESTIMATES

* TOTALS DO NOT INCLUDE CENSUS TRACT F6

twenty-five year span.

Many factors enter into this decline of population--encroaching business, housing deterioration, the closing off of immigration, years of prosperity and the trend to the suburbs. It is, however, relevant to remember that other central city areas have experienced a backflow of population after long years of ebb, and these trends cannot be forecast, especially in view of the trend to government rehabilitation of slum areas.

Maps 6 and 7 gave a closer view of population change by census tracts in the two most recent ten-year spans for which we have census tract data. The startling gain for Census Tract F6 in the first ten years, and the heavy loss for that district in the following period may be largely discounted. The swollen population of the City's Wayfarers' Lodge was included in 1930 and excluded in 1940 and this, on a very small total population base, made most of the difference. Aside from F6, all the census tracts lost residents between 1920 and 1930, the heaviest losses were concentrated in the heart of the West End, Tracts K1 and H1. These same areas and, additionally, Beacon Hill actually regained some population in the next ten years. The rest continued to suffer substantial loss. It may well be that many fled from the cheap housing of K1 and H1 in the prosperity of the '20's, but their places were quickly refilled in the depression of the '30's. Adding the population of Tract F6, the West End in 1940 had 28,405 residents. Of these 56.4 per cent lived in the West End Proper, 27.4 per cent on the Back of Beacon Hill and only 16.2 per cent on Beacon Hill. The population table by census tracts may be seen on Map 8. It should be noted that the population is heavily concentrated in the center, thinning out around the periphery. F6 had only a handful of residents. In the thirty years after 1910 every census tract showed a population decline. Tract H2 near the North Station showed the heaviest rate of loss from its 1910 total of 6,629. Beacon Hill was the most stable, dropping from 5,753 persons to 4,613.

Despite losses of population, the West End remained second only to the North End in the congestion of its people in cramped living quarters. Whereas the city's average number of persons per inhabited acre in 1940 was 94.5, the West End average was 369.7, almost four times as crowded. Even Beacon Hill with 148.9 persons in each inhabited acre was well above the city average, and the most densely packed census tract had 810.1 persons per acre! Among sixty-three Boston neighborhoods Beacon Hill ranked thirty-sixth, the Back of Beacon Hill fifty-ninth and the West End Proper sixty-first in population density. No indication can be found that the ranking of Boston's neighborhoods in this respect has undergone significant change since 1940. A graphic presentation of density of population is given on Chart 3.

There were more women than men in the West End "as a whole." As usual, however, analysis is needed tract by tract.

TABLE 1

Sex Distribution of the 1940 West End Population
by Census Tracts

Locality	Male	Female
Tract H6	699	428
" H1	4,048	3,816
" H2	1,424	1,296
" H3	1,014	1,281
" H4	2,698	2,010
" K1	2,318	2,760
" K2	1,621	2,992
Total	13,822	14,583

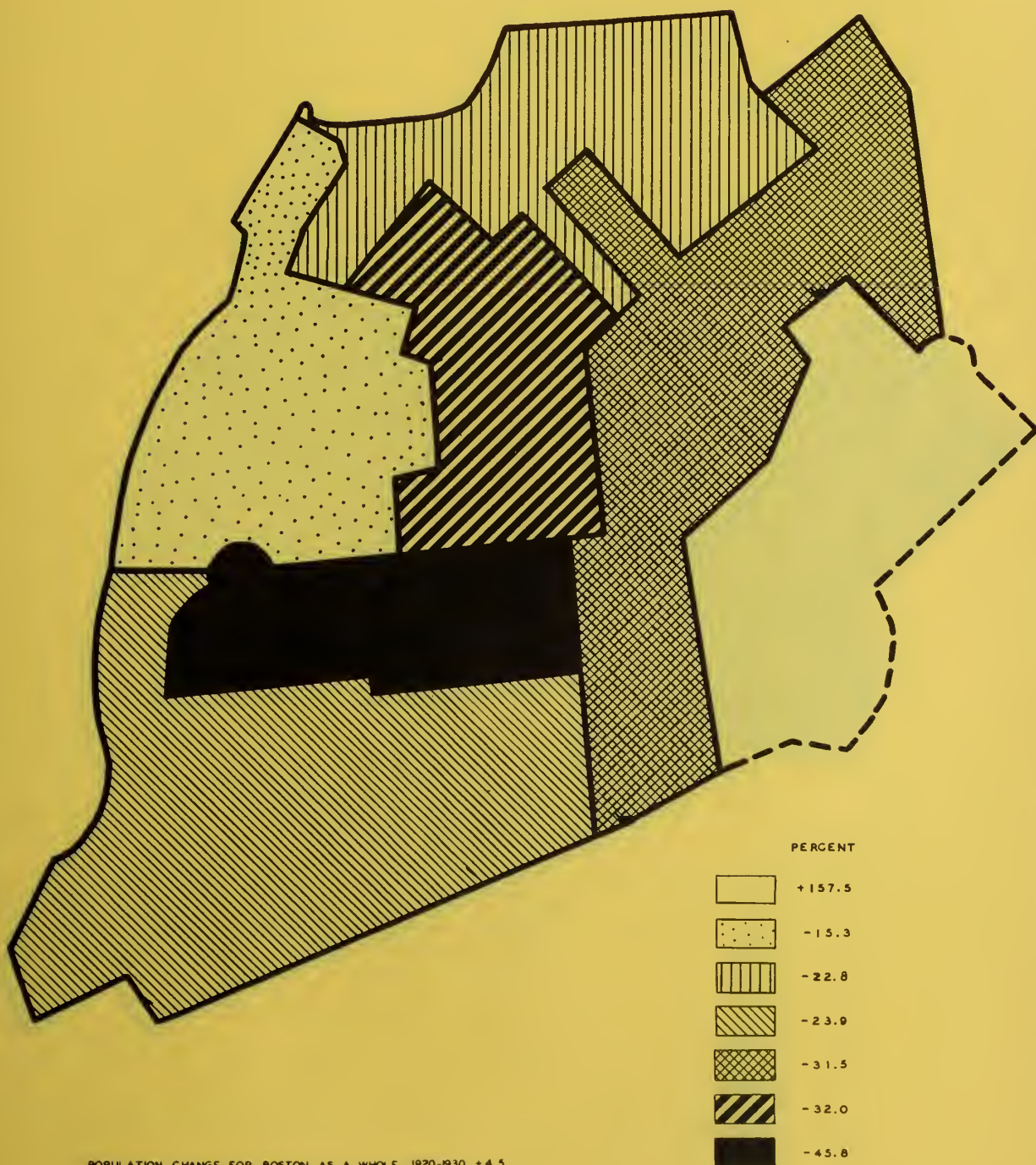
The most striking fact to be noted is that K2, Beacon Hill, had 1,371 more women than men. This heavy preponderance offsets the fact that in four of the seven West End tracts the males outnumbered the females. Beacon Hill has many rooming houses and apartments restricted to women residents and, additionally, many dowager ladies have their homes there. Rooming houses and apartments for women also affect the sex distribution of the population in K1 on the north slope of the Hill. The female majority in H3 was probably consequent upon the fact that many Massachusetts General Hospital nurses live there. On the other hand, the concentration of hotels and rooming houses restricted to men is in Census Tracts H4 and F6. These range from the City Club at the top of the hill to "flophouses" north of Cambridge Street.

Young or Old?

In the depression years the West End lost its children much more rapidly than other age groups in the population. Although the total population decline between 1930 and 1940 was 2.7 per cent, the decline in the number of children under eighteen was 24 per cent. At the time of the 1940 census the West End was thirteenth of fifteen health and welfare areas in Boston both in the percentage relation of children under eighteen years of age to the total population and in actual number of children. Its percentage ratio of 20.8 per cent compared unfavorably with Boston's 26.4 per cent. Map 9 shows the percentage of population under eighteen years in each of the West End census tracts in 1940. Only H2 and H1 have a higher ratio of children than the Boston average. F6 and K2 have amazingly small proportions of children. Both the proportion and the number (Map 10) of children rapidly increases as one walks northward from Beacon Street. Viewing the proportions by neighborhoods, Beacon Hill's 6.6 per cent ranks next to the lowest among sixty-three Boston neighborhoods. The 15.3 per

MAP 6 -POPULATION CHANGE 1920-1930

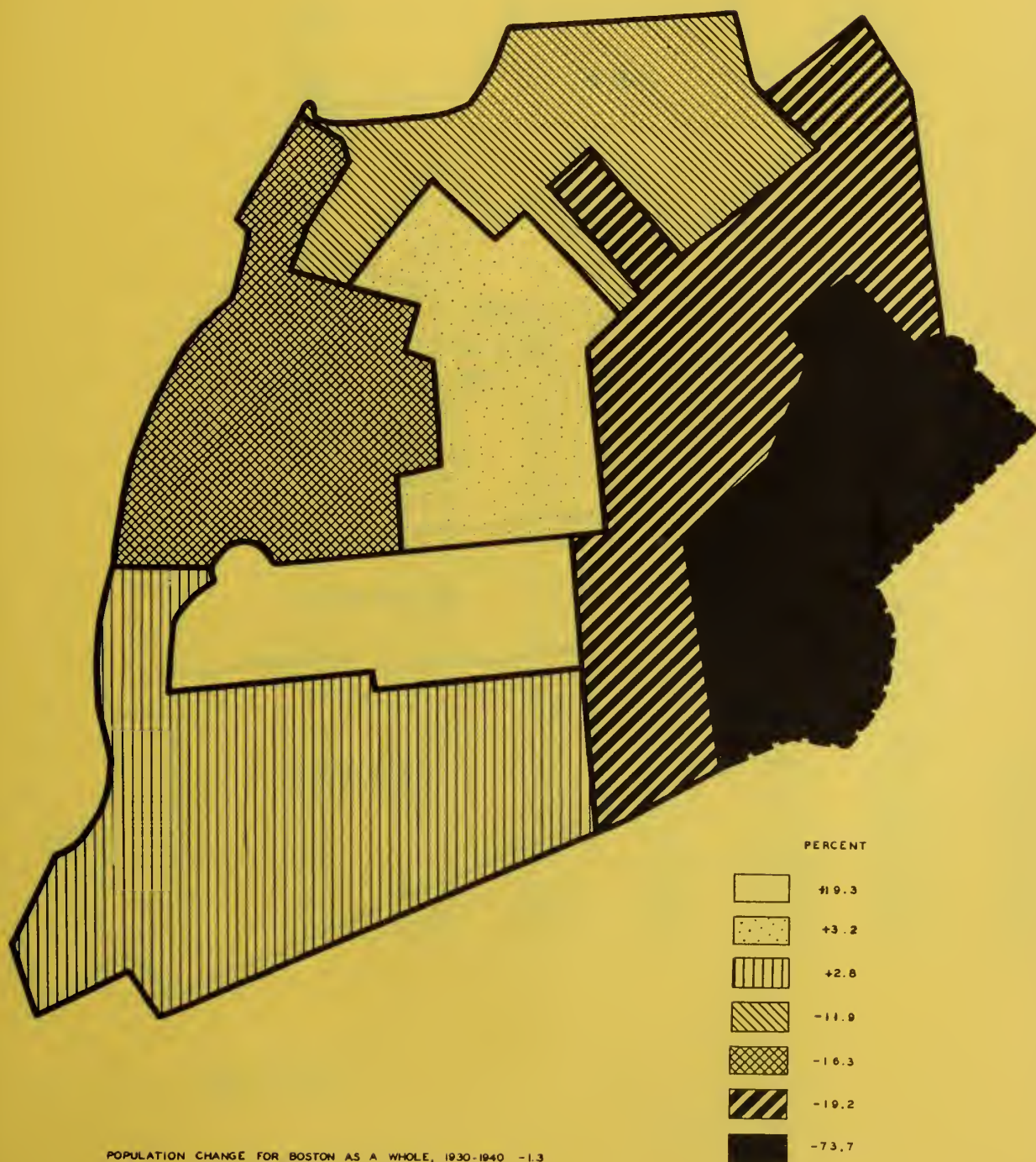
WEST END CENSUS TRACTS



POPULATION CHANGE FOR BOSTON AS A WHOLE, 1920-1930 +4.5

MAP 7 - POPULATION CHANGE 1930-1940

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS



MAP 8 -POPULATION OF WEST END

BY CENSUS TRACTS 1940



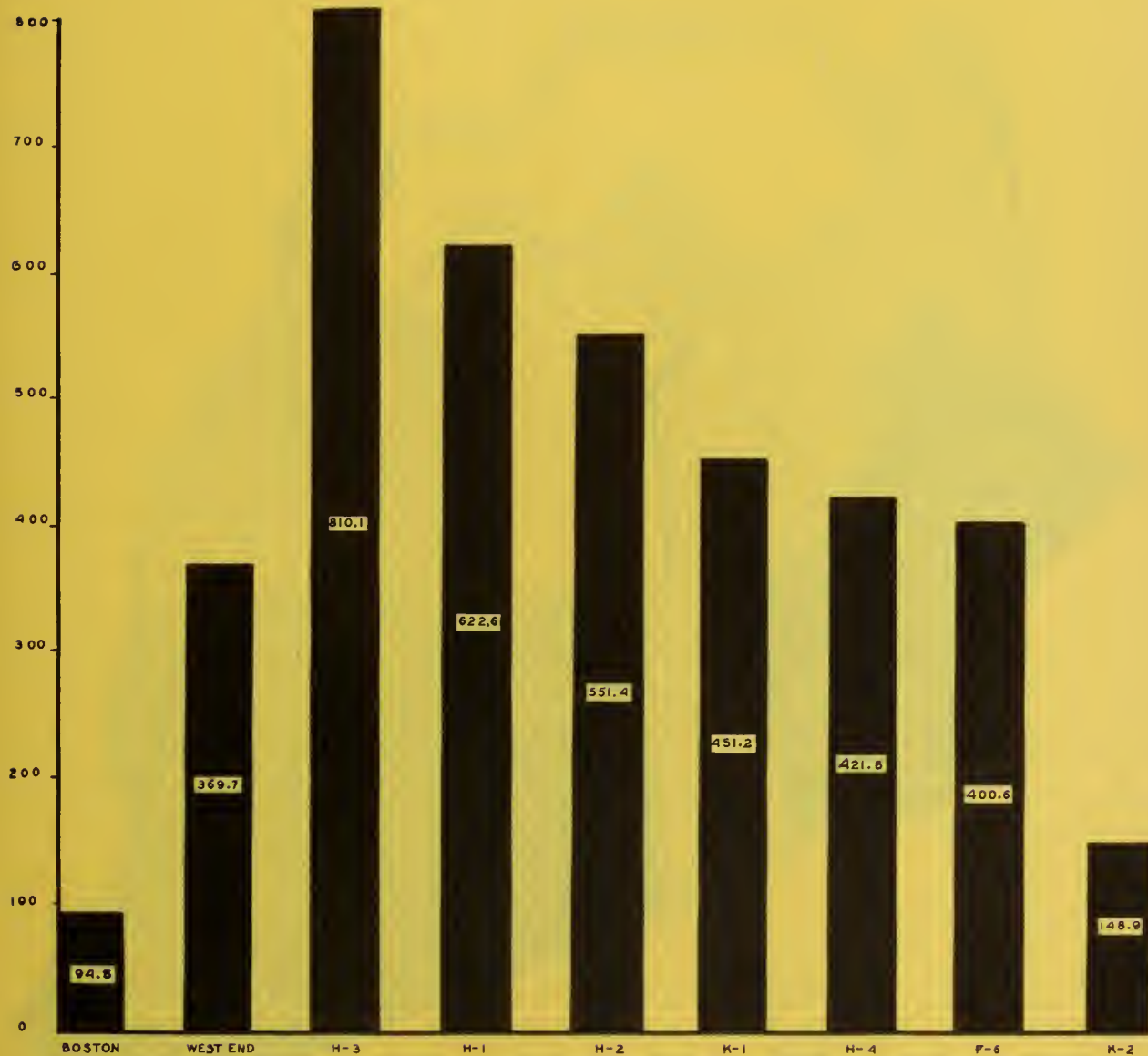
● 1000 PERSONS

WEST END TOTAL 26,405

TRACT	POPULATION
H-1	7,864
K-1	5,076
H-4	4,708
K-2	4,613
H-2	2,720
H-3	2,295
F-6	1,127

CHART 3-DENSITY OF POPULATION

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940

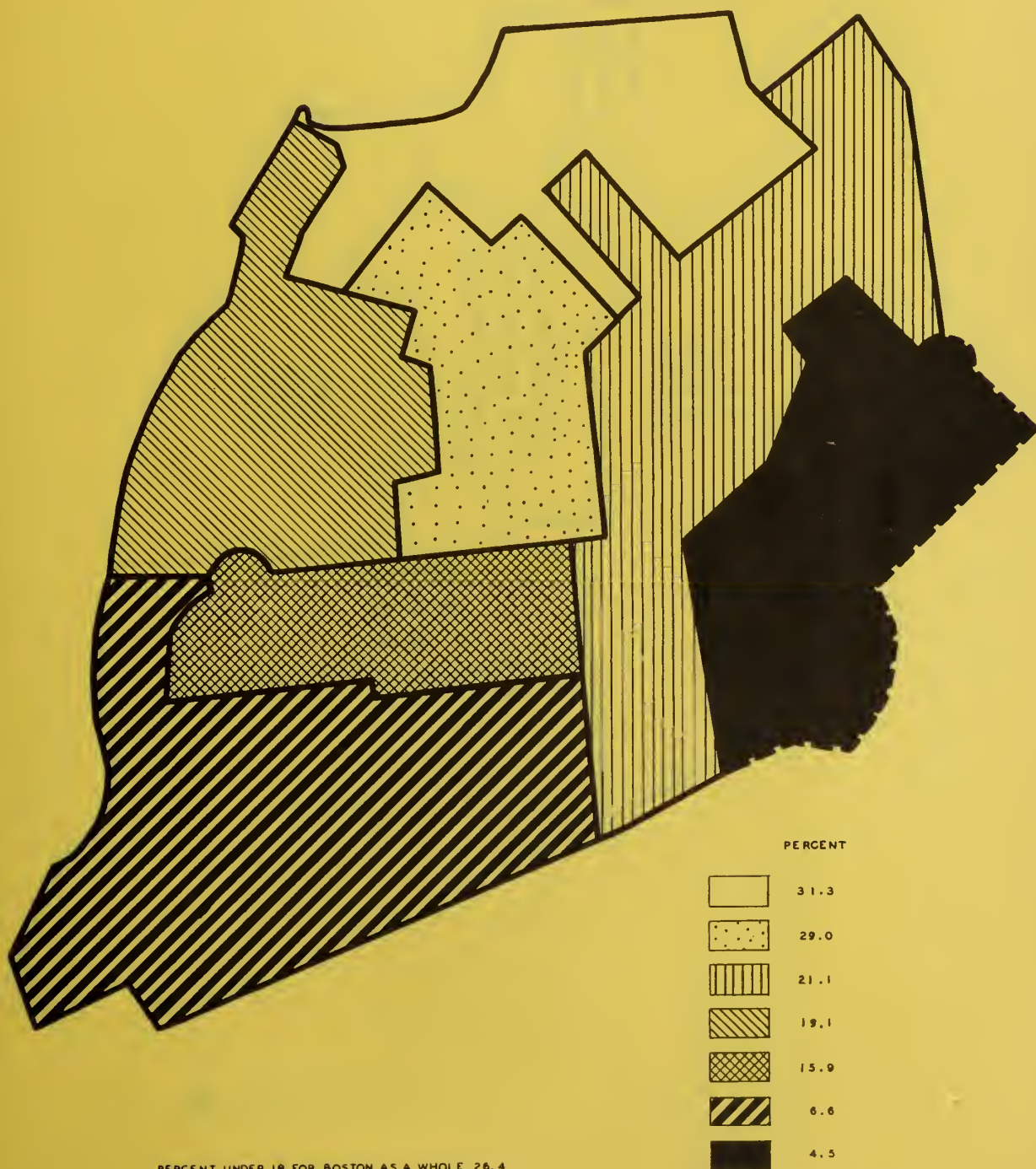


NUMERALS INDICATE NUMBER OF
PERSONS PER INHABITED ACRE



MAP 9 -PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION UNDER 18 YEARS

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940



PERCENT UNDER 18 FOR BOSTON AS A WHOLE 26.4

MAP 10 -POPULATION UNDER 18 YEARS

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940



● 100 PERSONS UNDER 18

WEST END TOTAL 5,727

TRACT POPULATION

H-1 2,283

H-4 994

H-2 852

K-1 805

H-3 438

K-2 304

F-8 51

cent rate places the Back of Beacon Hill fifty-fifth. The West End Proper with 26.3 per cent of its residents under eighteen ranked thirty-ninth and was just one-tenth of a percentage point off the citywide average.

The census figures for the number of persons under eighteen per household tell very much the same story. The Boston average is one child for every household; the West End as a whole has a rate of .8. The 1.1 of the West End Proper is offset by the .5 of the Back of Beacon Hill and the one-fifth child represented in Beacon Hill's .2 rate.

There were 5,727 children in the West End in 1940. Of these four of every ten were concentrated in Census Tract H1. "Proper" Beacon Hill had only 304 residents under eighteen, and F6 only fifty-one. By neighborhoods, the West End Proper had 74 per cent of all West End children, the Back of Beacon Hill 21 per cent and Beacon Hill just 5 per cent. These proportions should be contrasted with the 56.4 per cent, 27.4 per cent and 16.2 per cent division of the total population among the same neighborhoods.

Over half the "children" covered by the 1940 census figures have now become adults, and their places have been taken by a more or less sizeable group born since 1939. Although no strictly comparable index of this section of the population is available, the statistics for public and parochial elementary and intermediate schools are helpful. The 2,129 enrollment for these schools in 1947 was 853 less than the 1940 totals for West End schools. This is a decline of 28.6 per cent. Clearly the tendency for child population to decline continued into the present decade. However, there is some indication that this tendency has been checked in the most recent years. The 1940 census counted 2,277 children in the one-to-nine-year age bracket. The Boston Health Department figures, adjusted for infant mortality, indicate that as of 1948 there were 3,948 children from one to nine years old born to West End parents. The figures do not tell us, unfortunately, how many of these parents with their children moved out of the West End, or how many other children moved with their parents into the West End during the 1940-1948 period. Admitting these difficulties, the figures do indicate a 35 per cent increase in the one-to-nine age range in 1948 as against 1940. The one-to-five age group was 42 per cent larger, and the five-to-nine age group was 28 per cent larger. It seems probable that the 1950 census will show at least a substantial modification of the declining trend of the child population.

TABLE 2

Percentage of the Youth and the Aged in Boston
and in West End Census Tracts

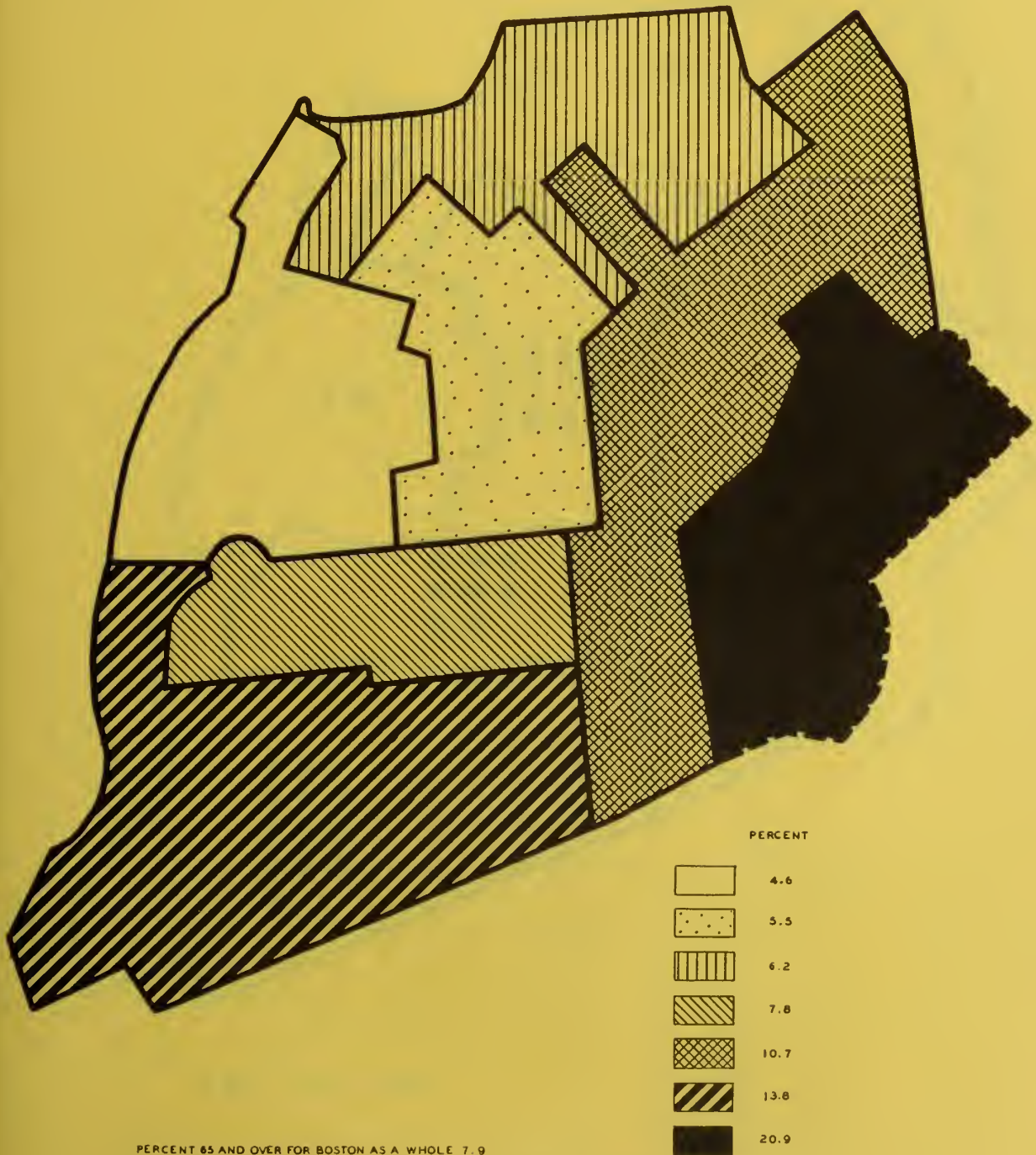
Locality	Per Cent Population under 18 years	Per Cent Population 65 years and over
Boston	26.4	7.9
West End	20.8	8.2
Tract F6	4.5	20.9
" H1	29.0	5.5
" H2	31.3	6.2
" H3	19.1	4.6
" H4	21.1	10.7
" K1	15.9	7.8
" K2	6.6	13.8

Table 2 contrasts the percentages of younger and older people within the area. The West End "as a whole" had less young people, more old people than the city average. But the census tract breakdown reveals, again, two communities obscured by the over-all average. Tracts H1, H2 and H3, the bulk of the West End Proper, were well under the city average in the proportion of resident older people. F6, K2 and H4 had a far higher proportion of older people than Boston as a whole. K1, on the north slope of the Hill, was very close to the average proportion of older people for the city, although it was far below the city average in the proportion of children under eighteen years of age. Grouping the tracts by neighborhoods, Beacon Hill's 13.8 per cent of persons over sixty-five ranks it fifty-ninth among sixty-three Boston neighborhoods, the Back of Beacon Hill's 10.3 per cent ranks fifty-sixth, while the West End Proper's 6.5 per cent ties it for twentieth among all Boston neighborhoods.

Map 11 shows clearly that the heaviest proportion of older people was in the southern half of the West End, the smaller proportion north of Cambridge Street. Of the total of 2,476 the great majority, 1,770, are grouped in K2, K1, H4 and F6. These are the tracts where almost all the apartments and rooming houses are located. A very large part of these nearly 2,000 older people are single, detached from family, living lonely lives. The 432 older persons in Tract H1, on the other hand, are a

MAP 11—PERCENT OF POPULATION 65 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940



PERCENT 65 AND OVER FOR BOSTON AS A WHOLE 7.9

small part of the large total population and are, in the main, the older members of normal families. Map 12 shows the actual numbers of older people at the time of the 1940 census. (2.)

Some idea of the varying sex distribution by census tracts among persons over sixty-five may be derived from the fact that although K2 had 451 women and only 185 men in this age bracket, K1 had one more man than women and H1 had forty-eight more men than women.

Where are They From?

Boston as a major Atlantic seaport has a high proportion of foreign-born residents. In 1940 23.5 per cent of the population was foreign-born. The West End had a larger proportion, 29.3 per cent. Of fifteen Boston health and welfare areas, only the North End had a greater proportion of persons born outside the United States. Analysis of the census data by tracts is, once more, revealing. The heavy concentration of foreign-born persons was in three census tracts, H1, H2 and H4. Here more than one of every three persons was an immigrant. The proportions by census tracts are shown on Map 13. Both sides of Beacon Hill and F6, on the other hand, were well under the city average. Again we must deal with several situations rather than seek an "on the whole" approach. One fact stands out upon analysis of the origin of these foreign-born residents. It is clear from Chart 4 that no single country of origin is dominant, or has been dominant in the recent past. This is far different from the situation found in some other Boston areas. The problem of work with this section of the population is not one that can be solved by study and understanding of a single background culture. At least a dozen substantial groups are intermingled in the West End. Many, but by no means all, of those persons born in Russia and a lesser part of those born in Poland are Jewish. Others are Orthodox and Roman Catholic. There are many racial, cultural and religious differences among Canadians. In both 1930 and 1940 more than a fourth of the foreign-born were not from any of the four leading countries of origin. This, then, is a complex cosmopolitan community, not a clearly-defined national or racial colony. It must also be kept in mind, however, that nearly half the foreign-born in each period come from two countries, Italy and Russia.

The table on Chart 4 makes it clear that the number of foreign-born from every point of origin has been declining. The 1940 total is 75 per cent of that ten years earlier. Discounting replacement, one of every four had moved from the West End or died. Only the Italian-born came close to holding their own. The total of the Russian-born experienced an especially sharp reduction and they dropped behind the Italian-born in total numbers. Residents from Canada also passed the Polish-born in the ranking of foreign-born groups. The trends discernible at the beginning

-
2. Note that the dots on Map 10 and Map 12 are not directly comparable. On Map 10 each dot represents 300 persons, on Map 12 each dot represents 50 persons.

of the century did not reach fulfillment until the '30's. Only then did the number of the Italian-born reach and pass that section of the Russian and Polish-born of Jewish heritage.

Map 14 deserves careful study by all those concerned with the detailed trends within their own areas of service. The rise and decline of the major foreign-born groups in each tract together with the 1940 number in each group is shown. Of particular interest is the fact that in only four instances is there an actual numerical increase of any foreign-born group. Tracts H2, H1 and K1 experienced some increase in the number of Italian-born residents, K2 saw an increase in its total of Canadian-born. The numbers involved are in every case a small part of the total resident population.

The obverse of this distribution of the foreign-born is that the native-born whites have a clear majority ranging from slightly under two-thirds to more than three-quarters in every census tract. The greater part of the people are at least second-generation Americans. That part of the residents classified by the United States Census as "Negro and other non-white" constitutes only 1 per cent of the West End population, as contrasted to 3.3 per cent of Boston as a whole. The West End has ceased to be "the great habitat of the colored race." The dim memory of 1900 when the area near Phillips Street housed "about 3,000 Negroes" is recalled by the higher percentage (1.7 per cent) still resident in K1. This, however, represented only eighty-six persons, not all of them Negroes. The whole West End had only 232 resident Negroes in 1940 (as against 360 in 1930), and there were just twenty-two persons listed as "other non-white." It is small wonder that the last of the Negro churches has faded from the West End!

What Do They Do?

According to the 1940 census, a greater proportion of West End people were in the "labor force" than was true of Boston as a whole. The proportion was 61.2 per cent for the West End as against 54.6 per cent for Boston. Of a total West End population of 27,278 there were 14,132 persons fourteen years of age or over who were working or seeking work. One-fifth of the population over thirteen was engaged in housework in their own homes, 6.7 per cent were listed as in school. (3.)

The two upper bars on Chart 5 compare the percentage distribution of the labor force in the city of Boston and in the West End. "As a whole" the West End was above average. It had a slightly smaller proportion of unemployed persons, persons on public emergency work and common laborers. On the other hand, the proportion of service workers, proprietors and professional people was higher than the city average. The West End ranked seventh among fifteen health and welfare areas in proportion of persons

3. In this case West End figures and percentages do not include Census Tract F6.

MAP 13 -PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940

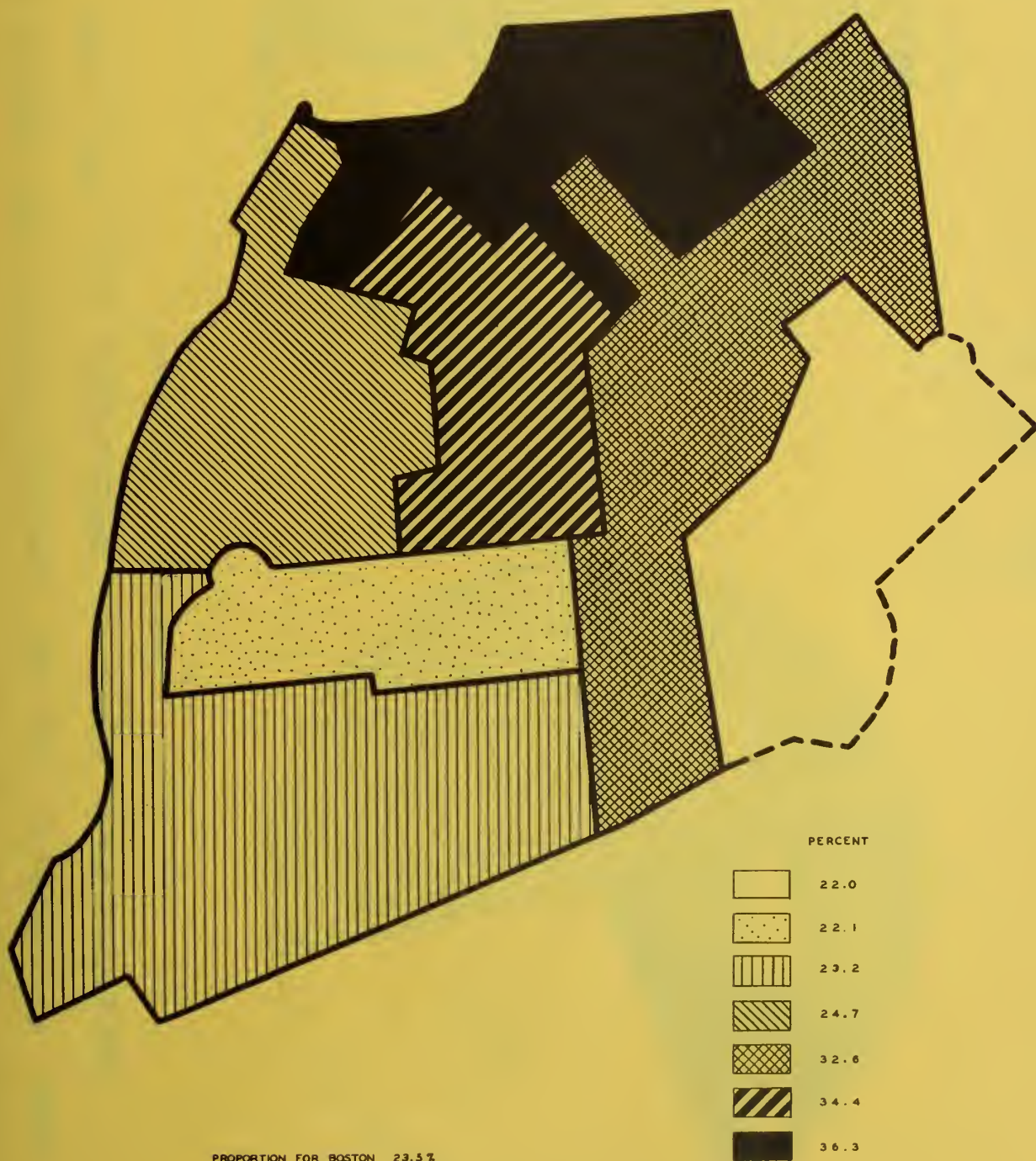
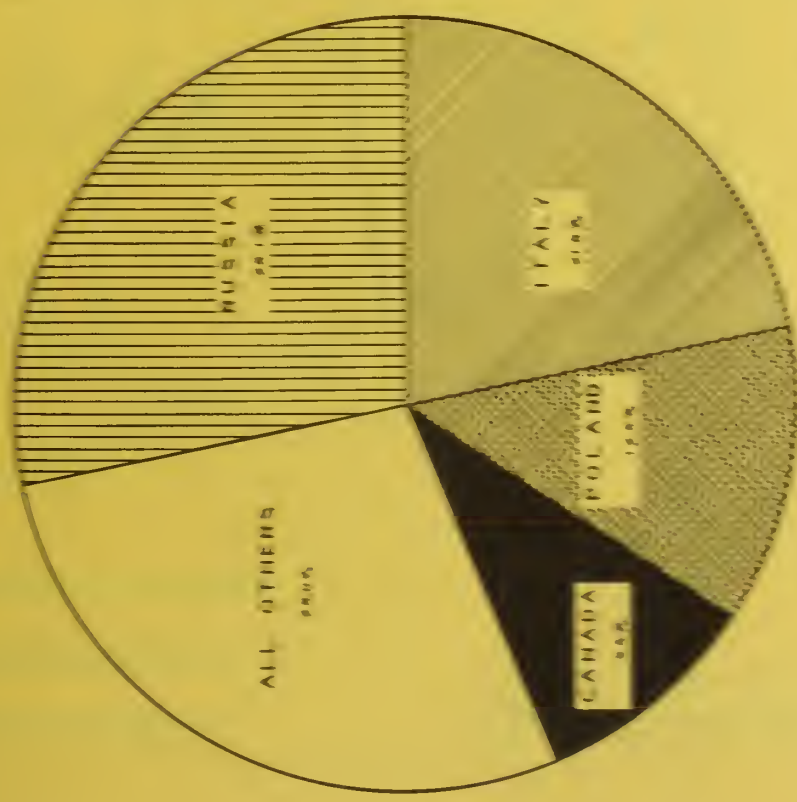


CHART 4 - ORIGIN OF THE MOST NUMEROUS FOREIGN-BORN GROUPS, WITH
PERCENTILE RANK AMONG ALL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION

WEST END 1930 AND 1940



1930

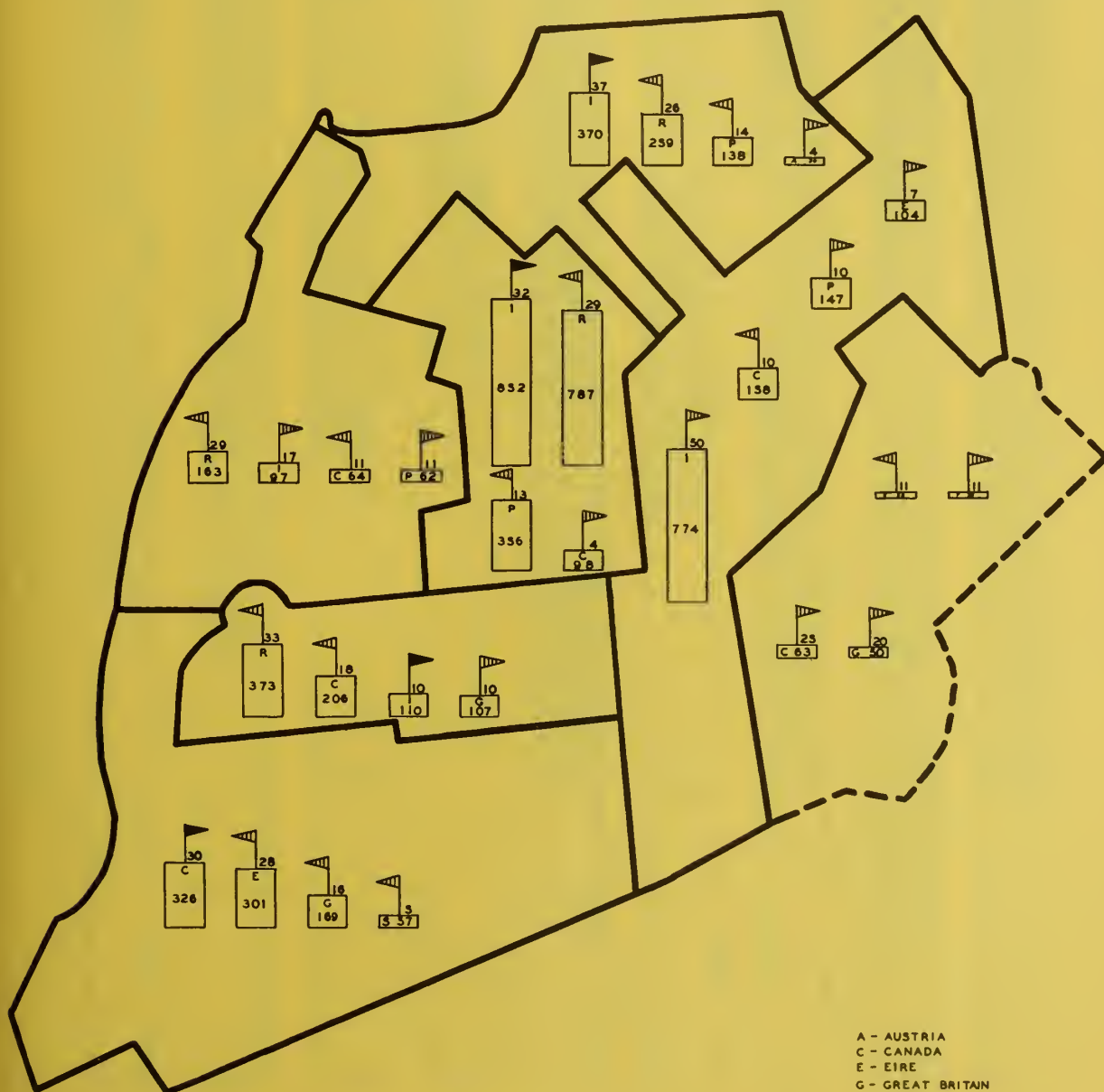


1940

	NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS		PERCENT	
	1930	1940	1930	1940
RUSSIA	5,000	1,150		
ITALY	5,440	2,400		
POLAND	1,450	190		
CANADA	1,010	270		
ALL FOREIGN BORN WHITE	12,900	4,010		

MAP 14 -FOUR MOST NUMEROUS FOREIGN-BORN GROUPS, WITH PERCENTILE RANK AMONG ALL FOREIGN-BORN WHITE POPULATION

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940



- INCREASE IN PERCENTILE RANK AMONG FOREIGN BORN POPULATION SINCE 1930
- DECREASE IN PERCENTILE RANK AMONG FOREIGN BORN POPULATION SINCE 1930
- INCREASE IN NUMBER OF PERSONS AND IN PERCENTILE RANK SINCE 1930

A - AUSTRIA
C - CANADA
E - EIRE
G - GREAT BRITAIN
I - ITALY
L - LITHUANIA
P - POLAND
R - RUSSIA
S - SWEDEN

NUMBERS IN BARS INDICATE NUMBER OF PERSONS

NUMBERS ABOVE BARS INDICATE PERCENTILE RANK AMONG FOREIGN-BORN WHITE IN THAT CENSUS TRACT

CHART 5-BOSTON AND WEST END LABOR FORCE

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION 1940 CENSUS



OPERATIVES, LABORERS
 CLERICAL, SALES
 CRAFTSMEN, FOREMEN
 SERVICE WORKERS, INCLUDING DOMESTICS
 PROPRIETORS, MANAGERS, OFFICIALS
 PROFESSIONAL, SEMI-PROFESSIONAL
 NOT REPORTED

unemployed or on work relief. Its 18.2 per cent was far below the 36.4 per cent of the North End or the 30.5 per cent of East Boston.

As we have seen, however, the West End contains within itself sharply different social strata and the "as a whole" average is a blurring of contrasts. The labor force distribution is a strong case in point. Study of the lower bars of Chart 5 reveals that tracts H4, H1 and H2 are all well over the Boston percentage of those unemployed and on work relief and that H2's rate of 29.2 per cent is little better than East Boston's. The other four tracts all better the Boston average with K2 (Beacon Hill) ranking in a tie for the third lowest among sixty-five Boston neighborhoods. The same contrast applies to the proportion of common laborers. The fact that three tracts, K1, K2 and F6, all south of Cambridge Street and close to the downtown area, house a large proportion of clerical and sales workers is indicative of one of the major functions of the West End as a close-in bedroom for downtown workers. Beacon Hill (K2) has almost twice the city average in its proportion of service workers. A considerable portion of this is accounted for by resident servants and caretakers. The high proportion of proprietors and professional people in K2 and F6 is probably a reflection of both the social quality of these tracts and their proximity to downtown. The very high proportion of professional workers in H3 and the moderately high proportion in K1 require additional explanation. The major factor here would seem to be the presence of the Massachusetts General Hospital in H3. Some hospital professionals and many hospital "semi-professionals" have apparently elected to live close to the institution in which they work.

Further light on the economic status of West End people is shed by the statistics for the relatively prosperous year of 1944 on public relief cases, aid to dependent children and old age assistance. The Greater Boston Community Council reported that while the city average was 4.5 cases of dependent aid per 1,000 population, the case load in the West End was 7.7, exceeded only by that in the North and South Ends. The breakdown by neighborhoods reveals that the West End Proper was most seriously effected with a rate of 10.7 (fifty-fifth among sixty-three neighborhoods), the Back of Beacon Hill had a 5.4 rate (forty-ninth) and Beacon Hill was relatively untouched with a 1.1 rate (thirteenth).

Boston averaged 10.55 cases of aid to dependent children for every 1,000 households. The West End average was slightly higher at 10.6, but, once again, division by neighborhoods is more revealing. The Beacon Hill rate of .9 represents just one case. The Back of Beacon Hill ranked twenty-seventh among sixty-three neighborhoods with a rate of 6.8, and the West End Proper was fiftieth with a 16.2 rate. Boston averaged 228 cases of old age assistance for every 1,000 persons over sixty-five years of age. Surprisingly, in view of the high proportion of older persons without family in the West End, the district's 213 case rate is below the city average. However, only four of fifteen welfare areas have a higher rate. The many elderly persons living on Beacon Hill were largely independent of public assistance. Their 75.5 rate was the lowest of all the sixty-three Boston neighborhoods. Older persons on the Back of Beacon Hill were needier. The rate of 236.5 there was forty-third among Boston neighbor-

hoods. Of every 1,000 persons over sixty-five in the West End Proper, 274 required public assistance, more than in forty-nine more favored Boston neighborhoods.

Again and again, as we take up aspect after aspect of the life of West End people we find that our "three-decker sandwich" hypothesis is repeatedly confirmed. As compared to Boston as a whole, Beacon Hill tends to be far above average, the Back of Beacon Hill near average, the West End Proper far below average.

A Religious Census

During 1948, ending in September, canvassers affiliated with the Department of Research and Strategy surveyed thirteen square blocks in the West End. Families interviewed numbered 612. Religious affiliation was reported for 1,423 persons, and these constituted a 5.01 per cent sample of the population of the West End (including Census Tract F6) as reported in the 1940 United States Census. The canvass card used is reproduced on page 1 of the appendix, and Table 1A in the appendix indicates the extent of the canvass by census tracts.

Median monthly rental in each census tract was considered as a fair index of social and economic quality. The blocks were selected in each census tract by reason of the similarity of their average rental to the median rental of the tract in which they were located. One to four such blocks were selected in each tract in order to provide an adequate sample from each. (4.)

Five additional limited areas were canvassed. The block on Beacon Hill bordered by Mt. Vernon, Willow, Chestnut and Walnut streets was canvassed although its average rent was not the closest to the K2 median because it is generally regarded as "typical Beacon Hill." Beacon Street from the Embankment Road to Charles Street was selected as the highest rental area in all the West End. Three types of West End rooming house areas were explored by canvassing Pinckney Street from Joy to Charles, Hancock Street from the State House to Cambridge Street and Bulfinch Street from Allston to Cambridge streets. These specialized samplings which reached 753 additional West End residents are not included in any of the district or tract statistical totals in the following text, charts and maps because they would distort the typical nature of the general sample. They were undertaken as control checks and for insight into extraordinary aspects of the West End situation. The significant findings will be included in appropriate sections of the ensuing text.

Of the 612 families which reported the status of their religious affiliation, 314 claimed to be Roman Catholic, 163 Protestant and Episcopal, 62 Jewish, 49 without religious affiliation, 17 "others" (i.e. in the main,

4. Table 2A in the appendix gives the average and median rentals of blocks and census tracts.

Orthodox, also Bahai, etc.), six mixed and one sect. (5.) Five of the six families of mixed religious affiliation were Catholic-Protestant alliances, one was a Jewish-Protestant marriage. The religious affiliation of the 1,423 individual members of these families is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Religious Affiliation of West End Residents

A 5.01 Sample of the Population Taken from 13 Square Blocks

Affiliation	Families	Individuals	Adults	Children under 18 years
Roman Catholic	314	812	592	220
Protestant & Episcopal	163	306	253	53
Mixed	6	-	-	-
Other	17	44	37	7
Sect	1	4	4	0
Jewish	62	154	134	20
Unaffiliated	49	103	88	15
Total	612	1,423	1,108	315

Chart 6 illustrates the figures for adults and children by percentages. Tables 3A, 4A and 5A of the Appendix record the full tabulations of religious affiliation by blocks and neighborhoods. While 22.9 per cent of the adults claimed Protestant or Episcopal affiliation, just 16.8 per cent of the children did so. This is a reflection of the evidence of this sampling that while the average ratio of children to each family is .5, the Protestant and Episcopal ratio is .4. The Roman Catholic ratio, on the other hand, is .7. It is important to note that all of these ratios are below the .8 number of children per household in the West End established by the 1940 census. As we have seen, this cannot be attributed to a declining birth rate since 1940. It may possibly reflect an exodus of many parents with children from the West End during the relatively

-
5. The term "sect" as loosely used in this study has neither sociological or theological validity, but is convenient for designating certain smaller groups in the Protestant stream whose problems differ somewhat from those of the older religious institutions in the West End. The one family of four adults reached in this canvass was affiliated with the Pentecostal "Christian Assembly" on Cambridge Street.

prosperous intervening years.

Lack of any religious affiliation seems to be more of an adult than a child phenomena in the West End. It is notable that the Jewish population is even more predominantly adult than is the Protestant and Episcopal population. This is an indication of an ebb tide of Jewish settlement. Most of the childbearing younger generation has moved on, and the greater part of those left are older adults. By contrast the Roman Catholic families furnish a greater proportion of the children's total than of the adults'.

After weighting the tract samples to account for variation in the size of the population of each census tract, the entire 5.01 per cent sample was projected to obtain an estimate of the religious distribution of the population of the West End. On the basis of this weighted sample, 57.6 per cent of all the residents are estimated to be Roman Catholic, and 21.3 per cent Protestant and Episcopal. Chart 7 shows the proportional relation of all religious groups and of the unaffiliated. The table on the same chart shows what these percentages mean in actual numbers using the 1940 population as a base.

Perhaps the most significant conclusion for our study is that more than 30 per cent of the total population, more than 9,000 persons, are unaffiliated with the Roman Catholic and Jewish religious traditions. More than two-thirds of these are estimated to be Protestant and Episcopal, and the greater part of the balance have no present religious ties. A comparison of this finding with the results of closely similar censuses in East Boston and South Boston points up the contrast between the potential of our churches in the West End and in the other two neighborhoods. In East and South Boston 89 per cent of the residents were Roman Catholic, as against 57.6 per cent in the West End. The proportion affiliated with our churches and denominations in East Boston was scarcely more than a quarter of that in the West End, and in South Boston little more than one-third. The proportion of unaffiliated persons in both cases was less than one-third of that in the West End. In East Boston a far larger number of churches had only about half the available constituency that is resident in the West End. The East Boston church people have been able to draw hope, real gains and a forward-looking program from a frank study of their situation--how much more true this can and should be in the West End!

The 10.6 per cent Jewish proportion of the total population deserves special attention upon at least two grounds. The first is that it offers refutation of the widely-held misconception that the West End beyond Beacon Hill is "practically all Jewish." The staff encountered this "myth" even among highly-placed personnel of Boston social agencies. It is of course a culture lag from a period when the Jewish population was substantially larger, although never a majority in any West End neighborhood.

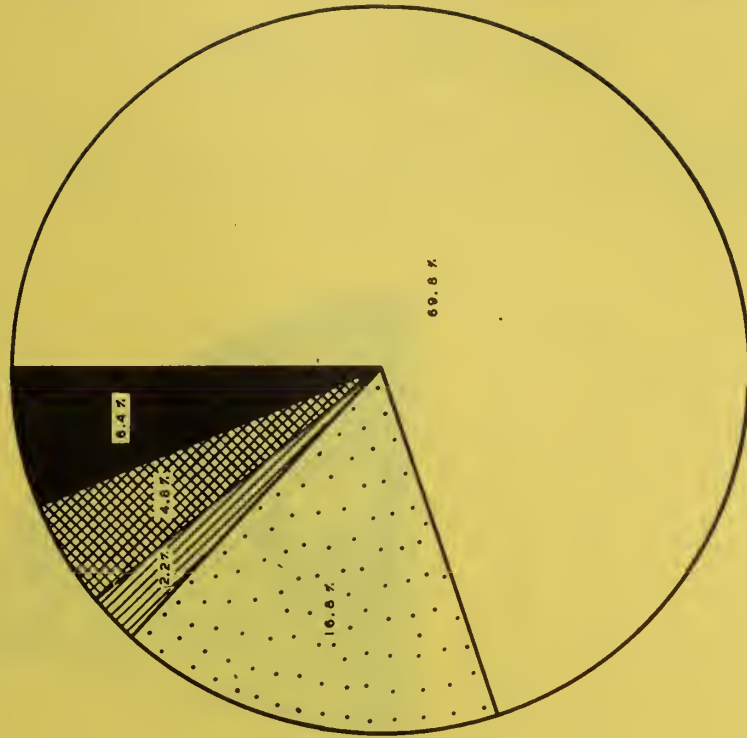
The second ground is that this aspect of the census gives us a control check through another sampling completed in the fairly recent past. In 1945 the National Jewish Welfare Board sponsored a 15 per cent sampling of Boston by health and welfare areas in which they achieved 95 per

CHART 6 -RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF 1423 WEST END ADULTS AND CHILDREN, 1948

A 5.01 PERCENT SAMPLE OF THE POPULATION (1940 CENSUS)



1108 ADULTS



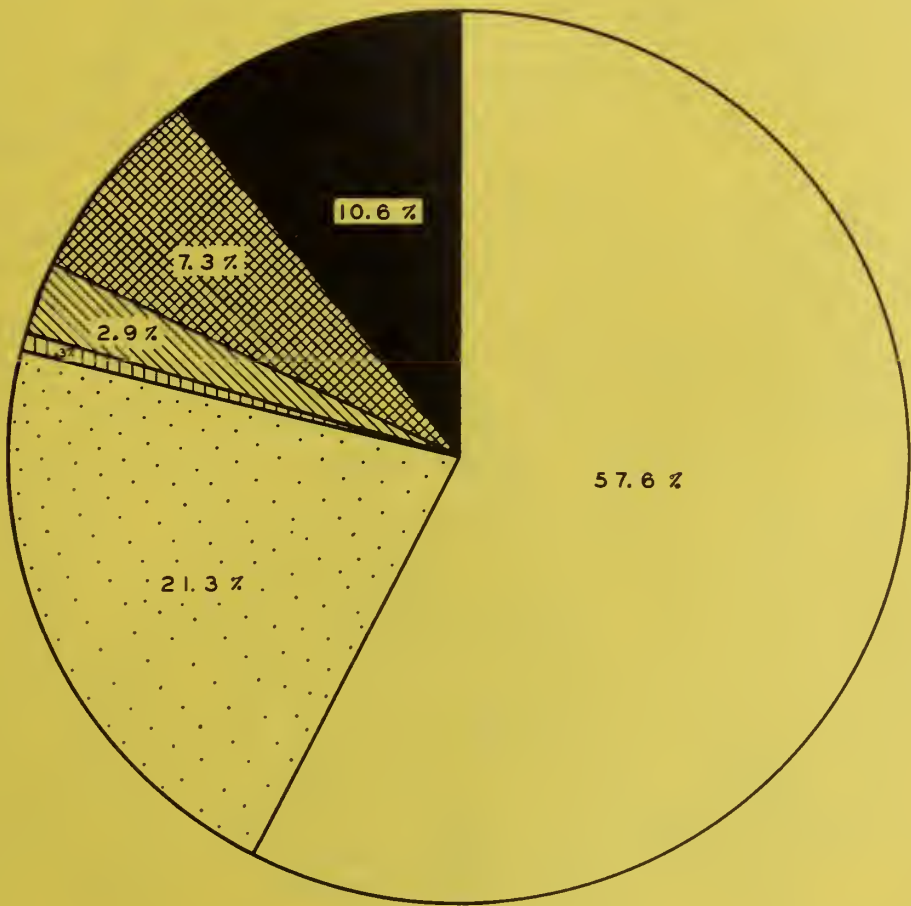
315 CHILDREN



NOTE
ADULTS-18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER,
CHILDREN UNDER 18.

CHART 7 -RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF THE WEST END POPULATION,1948

ESTIMATED FROM A 5.01 PERCENT SAMPLE OF THE POPULATION ADJUSTED FOR
DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION BY NEIGHBORHOODS



AFFILIATION	ESTIMATED CONSTITUENCY
ROMAN CATHOLIC	16,367
PROTESTANT AND EPISCOPAL	6,047
SECTS	74
OTHERS	840
UNAFFILIATED	2,062
JEWISH	3,015
TOTAL POPULATION (1940 CENSUS)	28,405

	ROMAN CATHOLIC
	PROTESTANT AND EPISCOPAL
	SECTS
	OTHERS
	UNAFFILIATED
	JEWISH

cent coverage. Their conclusion for the West End was that slightly over 6 per cent of the population was Jewish. The four and one-half per cent deviation between these two figures underlines the fact that a certain margin of error is to be expected in all small samplings. An additional family contacted or missed, an "average" block unusual in the particular aspect tallied, these may result, when projected, in variations of several percentage points, particularly for the smaller groups in a large total. A realistic acknowledgment of this fact by no means invalidates the sampling process or its practical value for the purposes of this study. That the actual number of Jewish individuals may be a hundred or so more or less than the estimated figure is not essential to discovering that their relative place in the total population is small. In the particular case the true proportion is probably somewhere between our estimate and that of the National Jewish Welfare Board, and each tends to support, while modifying, the finding of the other.

Of 1,098 adults reporting both place of birth and status of religious affiliation during the survey, 960 designated either the United States, Italy or Russia as their country of origin. Chart 8, supplemented by Table 6A in the Appendix, shows the religious affiliation of these persons classified by their place of birth. Despite years of missionary effort, not one of eighty-three Italian-born adults claimed Protestant or Episcopal affiliation, (although one family was found to be affiliated with the Christiania Assemblia) and only one Russian-born person made this claim. Protestant and Episcopal strength is among the native-born where 28.4 per cent claimed affiliation. Here, too, are most of the unchurched, almost one in every ten of those persons born in the United States. The analysis of the Russian-born is, incidentally, interesting for its indication of the relevance of the West End census figures for this group to an estimate of the Jewish population. While 82.1 per cent of Russian-born persons reached were Jewish, only 24 per cent of adults born in Poland held to the Jewish faith. The greater proportion of Roman Catholic than of the Orthodox persons among the balance of the Russian-born is also worthy of note. Among the less numerous national groups, Canadians were about evenly divided between the Roman Catholic and our churches. There were no Protestant or Episcopal persons having their origin in Poland, Ireland, Lithuania, Austria or Albania. In the latter case twelve of fifteen were Orthodox, the rest Roman Catholic.

As has been repeatedly emphasized, any estimate of the West End as a whole is actually a blurring of a complex of very different situations. Chart 9 showing the distribution of religious affiliation by census tracts again brings this point home. It must also be repeated that the reduction in the size of the samples, even though they bear approximately the same relation to the tract populations, increases the probable margin of error. Notwithstanding this, the grouping by census tracts brings out many valid points. Roman Catholicism is a minority faith in only two tracts, K1 and K2, and our churches can claim the affiliation of a clear majority in only one of these, "proper" Beacon Hill. Protestant and Episcopal affiliation is very limited in H3 and H2 and, apparently, in H4. The Jewish faith has minority representation in every census tract, but Jews are more numerous in H3, H1 and K1. The unaffiliated are fairly

evenly distributed except for Tract H3.

The special samplings make possible certain confirmations and modifications on the data derived from the blocks most typical in terms of average rent. This is particularly true of Beacon Hill where a block at the heart of Beacon Hill, the highest rent strip, and the Pinckney Street rooming houses were also canvassed. It was found that the central block had an even higher Protestant and Episcopal affiliation, 76.1 per cent, a lower Roman Catholic proportion, 8.7 per cent, and 13 per cent were unaffiliated. The Beacon Street strip of highest rentals between Embankment Road and Charles Street tended to refute the popular belief that there is a direct correlation between high rent and non-Roman tenancy. The Roman Catholic proportion of 25 per cent was slightly higher than on the two Beacon Hill blocks closest to the tract's median rent, the Protestant and Episcopal 46.1 per cent was substantially lower and the 23.7 per cent unaffiliated very much higher. The pattern of 267 families along Pinckney Street, largely given over to "refined" rooming houses, was closer to that of Beacon Street than to the charted findings. Roman Catholic affiliation was 28.8 per cent of the total, Protestant and Episcopal 45.7 per cent and unaffiliated 21 per cent. The three variations taken together would seem to confirm approximately the charted relation of Roman to Protestant and Episcopal strength but indicate a somewhat higher proportion of unaffiliated families.

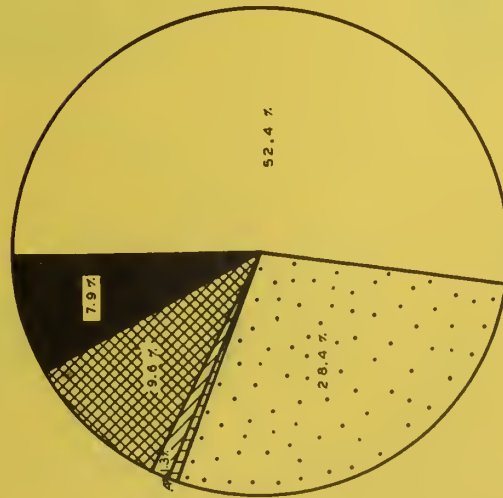
The finding of a very small Protestant and Episcopal strength in the two blocks of Tract H4 closest to the tract's median rent is substantially offset by the special canvass of Hancock Street. A considerable portion of H4 is occupied by respectable though far from elegant rooming houses. It happens that the blocks selected on the basis of rental have relatively few such houses, and Hancock Street was therefore chosen in order to gain insight into the special character of this type of resident in the tract. The finding was in considerable contrast to that charted for H4. As against a Roman Catholic proportion of 80.5 per cent in the earlier blocks, just 44.7 per cent claimed such affiliation among rooming house dwellers. The Protestant and Episcopal affiliation claimed was 23.5 per cent, a 20 per cent rise, and exactly the same number and proportion disclaimed any religious affiliation. It seems clear that the rooming houses constitute the most fertile field for our three churches located in this area and for the others close by.

On the other hand, the poorer rooming houses along Bulfinch Street proved to have more Roman Catholic tenants and less Protestant and Episcopal ones than was true of the average rental blocks in Tract F6. The declining proportion of affiliation to our churches and denominations in the three distinct strata of rooming houses was striking. Pinckney Street had a strong 45.7 per cent, Hancock Street 23.5 per cent and Bulfinch Street a tiny 5.2 per cent. Roman Catholic affiliation rose as ours fell from 28.8 per cent to 44.7 per cent to 67.2 per cent. It is noteworthy that more than 20 per cent of all three types of rooming-house dwellers claimed no church affiliation.

Just as important as an analysis of the religious composition of each

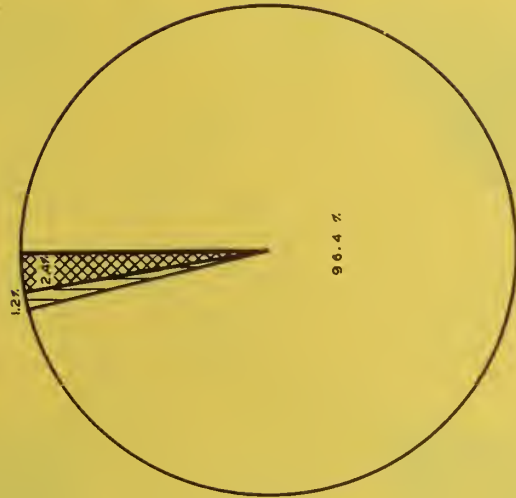
CHART 8 - THE RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF 960 WEST END ADULTS BY PLACE OF BIRTH - 1948

UNITED STATES



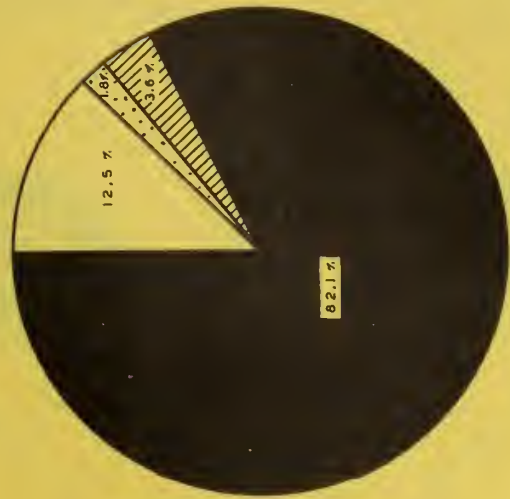
821 ADULTS

ITALY



83 ADULTS

RUSSIA



56 ADULTS

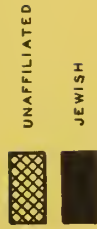
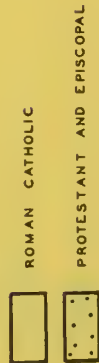
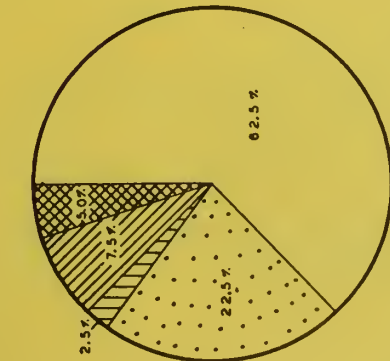


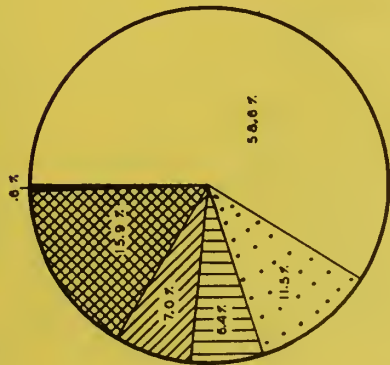
CHART 9-RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF 612 WEST END FAMILIES BY CENSUS TRACTS, 1948

A 5.01 PERCENT SAMPLE OF THE POPULATION (1940 CENSUS)



F 6

TOTAL POP. 1,127
40 FAMILIES



H 1

TOTAL POP. 7,864
166 FAMILIES



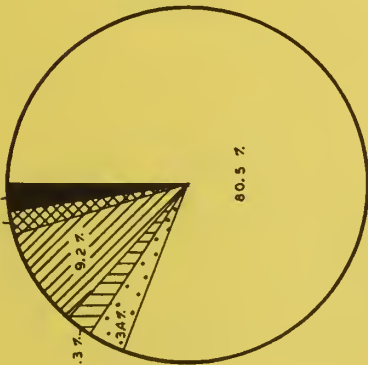
H 2

TOTAL POP. 4,613
68 FAMILIES



H 3

TOTAL POP. 2,295
37 FAMILIES



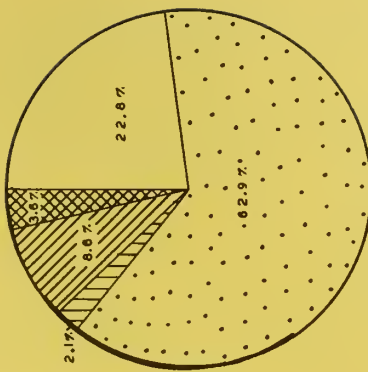
H 4

TOTAL POP. 4,708
109 FAMILIES



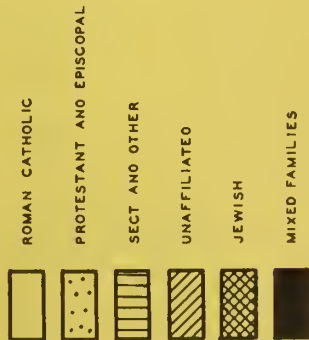
K 1

TOTAL POP. 5,076
197 FAMILIES



K 2

TOTAL POP. 4,613
216 FAMILIES



census tract is an appreciation of the relation of each to the others and to the West End. We should know the proportion by census tracts of persons within each of the more relevant religious groups. Chart 10 is a graphic presentation of this information for the Protestant and Episcopal, Roman Catholic and unaffiliated groups. The estimated numbers of Protestant and unaffiliated persons are shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Numbers of Protestant and Episcopal and Unaffiliated
Persons Estimated from a 5.01 Per Cent Sample

Locality	Protestant and Episcopal	Unaffiliated	Total
Tract F6	265	44	309
" H1	738	406	1,144
" H2	446	245	691
" H3	44	132	176
" H4	210	315	525
" K1	1,556	428	1,984
" K2	2,787	491	3,278
West End Total	6,046	2,061	8,107

It may be clearly seen that nearly three-quarters of the numerical strength of our denominational adherents is concentrated in K2 and K1. The Roman Catholic distribution, on the other hand, is much more even and is closely approximate to the varying total populations in the respective census tracts. The distribution of unaffiliated persons is closer to the Roman pattern, although nearly half are again in K2 and K1. The following combinations of these figures may further clarify the actual situation:

	Protestant and Episcopal	Unaffiliated	Total
West End without Beacon Hill (K2)	3,259	1,570	4,849
North of Cambridge Street (6.)	1,333	941	2,274

The first grouping excludes the Beacon Hill residents who, as later evidence will tend to show, are unlikely to seek service from any except

6. In this case figures for Census Tract H4 were divided equally (and arbitrarily) between the two sides of Cambridge Street.

the central churches on their own Beacon Hill or in adjacent downtown areas. On the other hand it includes all other West End persons because their comparative social and geographic remoteness from the central churches makes them potentially available to effective neighborhood ministry. The second grouping of the friendly and unaffiliated persons north of Cambridge Street points up the potentialities of an area receiving relatively little church ministry. Only the Salvation Army Corps and Nursery and the Heath Christian Center among the groups cooperating in the present study are located on this side of Cambridge Street. Of these only the Salvation Army Corps has an organized congregation. Even in this case the group is small, and the institution divides its efforts between this work and a mission to the transients of the Bowdoin Square area.

The person interviewed in each family was asked to state the church membership status of each member of the family. The results of this inquiry are pictured and tabulated on Chart 11 and in Appendix Table 7A. They should give a sharp check to any exaggerated optimism as to our situation in the West End, but they present, at the same time, a real challenge to our religious institutions there. Less than one-fourth of these church members belonged to any West End church. This contrasts even with East Boston, where 45 per cent belonged to local congregations. Slightly more had membership in the generally larger and more fashionable downtown and Back Bay churches nearby than in the churches in the neighborhoods where they live. The challenge rests in the fact that nearly half of the West End adults claiming Protestant or Episcopal affiliation either have no church membership at all or have memberships so remote from their place of residence that active functioning in the home church is out of the question.

The census tract findings on church membership from which the totals are drawn bring out, as usual, rather sharp differences. Tract F6 had no local church members; K1 and H4 were very close to the general averages. Surprisingly, half of our supporters in H1, H2 and H3 across Cambridge Street claimed local church affiliation. Beacon Hill gave twice as many members to the downtown and Back Bay churches as it did to West End churches. Of the 18.5 per cent of all Protestant and Episcopal church members, 73 per cent designated the Church of the Advent as their church home. If the special samplings are included, the three blocks and two streets showed 70 per cent of all West End church membership of Beacon Hill residents was Church of the Advent membership.

Appendix Table 8A gives the detailed report on responses to inquiry as to the most recent church attendance. About half of the same 260 adults claimed attendance at some church during the past month; only 10 per cent admitted that they had not attended in the last year. This may be compared with the East Boston claims of 41 per cent attendance in the last month and 31 per cent non-attendance. The greater accessibility of attractive churches and the differing social environment tending to inhibit admission of non-attendance are probable factors in this differentiation.

It need hardly be said that increasing the proportion of local church

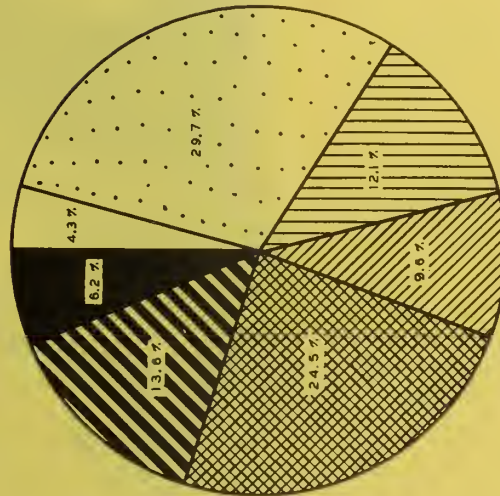
CHART 10-DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS BY WEST

END CENSUS TRACTS - 1948

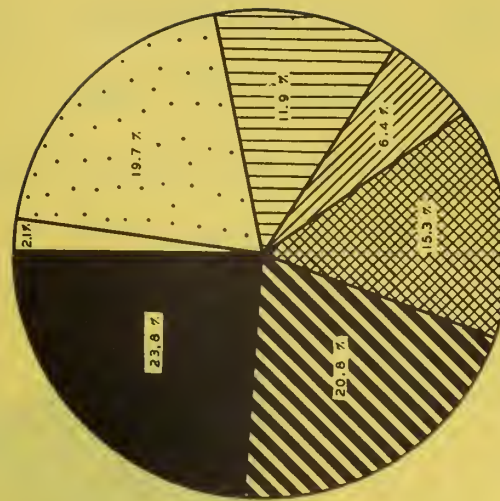
ESTIMATED FROM A 5.01 PERCENT SAMPLE OF THE POPULATION



PROTESTANT
AND EPISCOPAL



ROMAN CATHOLIC



UNAFFILIATED

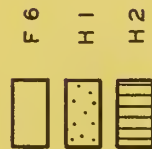
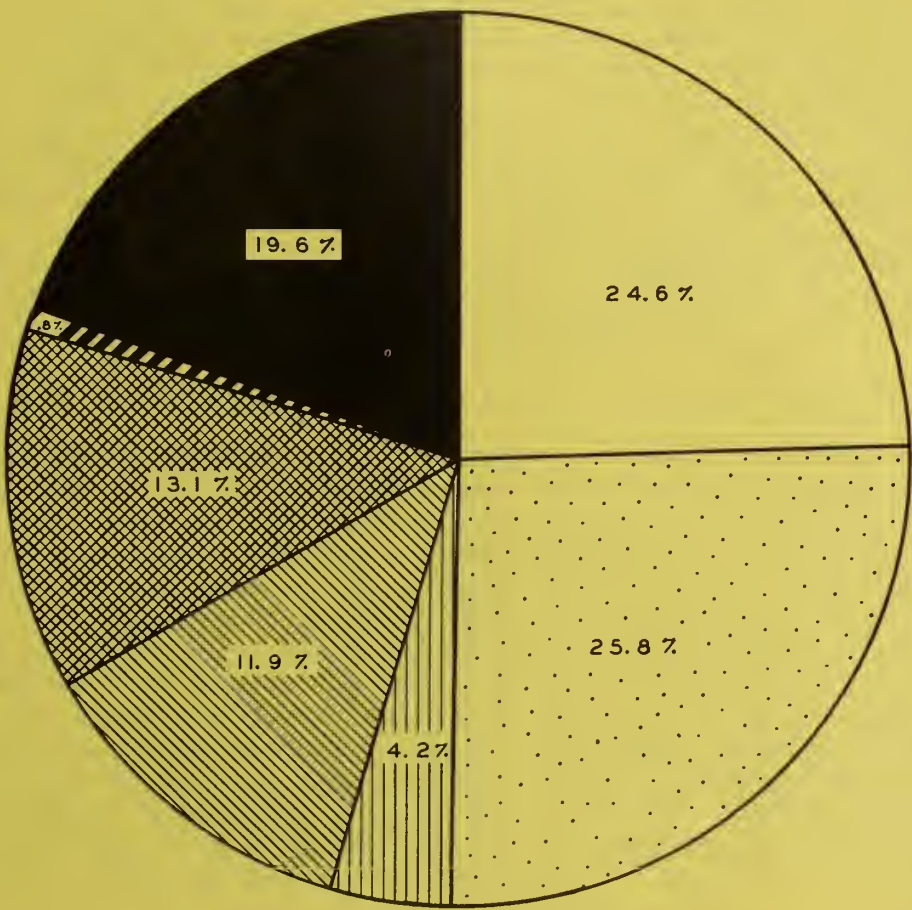









CHART II - CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF 260 ADULTS* WITH PROTESTANT AND EPISCOPAL AFFILIATION, BY GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THEIR CHURCHES

WEST END CENSUS, 1948

*18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER



	NUMBER
 WEST END	64
 BACKBAY, DOWNTOWN BOSTON	67
 OTHER BOSTON AND CLOSE ENVIRONS	11
 ELSEWHERE IN MASSACHUSETTS	31
 IN OTHER STATES	34
 PLACE UNDETERMINED	2
 WITHOUT CHURCH MEMBERSHIP	51

membership and local church attendance is far from an easy task. The West End situation is similar to the general urban pattern, particularly that close in to metropolitan centers. The competition of the downtown and central churches with their generally superior resources is extremely severe. One of the major reasons for residence in the central city is a desire for anonymity and relative social irresponsibility. The strategy for winning these folk must be laid to meet and overcome extremely complex and difficult problems.

Among 315 children (under eighteen years of age) for whom status of religious affiliation was reported, only fifty-three were Protestant or Episcopal. Of these fifteen were in the normal Sunday school attendance age range of six to thirteen years, and of these ten were attending some Protestant or Episcopal Sunday church school. If the ratio of one out of three unreached found in this 5 per cent sample is maintained throughout the area, there is a considerable field for evangelism among children and young people. The sample, of course, also indicates the relatively limited number of children in families affiliated with our churches. The fact that the sample found sixteen children in the same families under four years of age tends to auger a somewhat better future.

Attitudes Toward the West End

In laying the groundwork for an effective strategy for our churches, some insight into the probable future trends in the composition of the population of the community is at least as important as is understanding of the present situation. Prophecy of urban trends, as Woods demonstrated at the beginning of the century, is a hazardous and fallible undertaking. Nevertheless, some guideposts may be found in the replies of 984 family spokesmen to the canvasser's question, "Would you like to move out of the West End when the housing shortage is over?" Chart 12 pictures the response from all questioned and from the three major resident religious groups. Less than one in four of all those questioned expressed a definite desire to leave the West End. For three of four persons, then, there is a definite perspective of permanent residence. This may be compared with East Boston, where nearly 23 per cent answered the same question about their desire to move affirmatively.

The most startling result of this attitude survey was the contrast between the responses of the three major religious groups. Less than half of the respondents of Jewish faith and less than two-thirds of the Roman Catholics were certain of continued residence. The Protestant and Episcopal group, on the other hand, overwhelmingly favored the district in which they lived. While the later analysis of these responses by census tracts and other breakdowns tends to explain this contrast, it does not thereby invalidate or minimize the importance of the central fact that the present attitude of residents would indicate a far more stable constituency for our churches than for those of the Roman Catholic and Jewish faiths. (7.)

This cross section of expressed attitudes is somewhat re-enforced by the objective evidence as to the religious composition of the group of persons moving into the West End during the five years preceding our canvass. Of 288 such families reached in our 5.01 per cent sample, 46 per cent were Roman Catholic, 33 per cent Protestant, 9 per cent Jewish, 11 per cent unaffiliated. Thus 44 per cent of the newer residents are potentially available to us as against perhaps 30 per cent of the total population. There seems to be definite evidence indicating a current population trend favorable to our churches.

The importance of the findings summarized on Chart 12 may be seen by contrasting them with the same analysis of the East Boston canvass. In East Boston we were confronted with an opposite tendency--46 per cent of the Protestant families and only 31 per cent of the Roman Catholic families definitely wanted to move out of the community. This extreme difference in probable outlook should not fail to have its full impact on the program and strategy of our churches in each case.

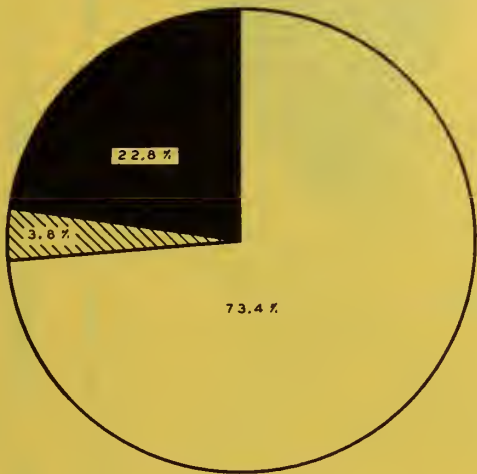
The result of classification of responses by place of birth of the respondents is shown on Chart 13. Notable is the fact that although a somewhat lesser proportion of the non-Italian foreign-born desired to move than did the native-born, the Italian-born were the group most anxious to leave the West End. One-third were clearly decided upon their desire to move, and only slightly over half definitely wished to stay. The West End does not share the East Boston prospect of being predominantly a long-term colony of persons of Italian birth or ancestry. Its past role as a stepping stone between the North End and more pleasant outer-urban and suburban areas is fading with the passage of time since the era of mass immigration. All the weight of evidence that similar mass immigration will not soon recur is, in the particular, evidence that whatever the future of the West End, its nearly hundred-year history as a way-station for "the invading hosts" is a closing book. The West End has developed and continues to develop other functions which tend to attract and hold native-born people to replace the last of the great immigrant waves.

That this attraction is predominantly an adult one would seem to be indicated by the evidence pictured on Chart 14. Even more strongly than East Boston parents, West End families with minor children want to establish residence elsewhere. On the other hand, eighty-four of every 100 adults without children under eighteen find the West End a satisfactory living environment. Here again expressed personal attitudes are consistent with the statistical evidence of the declining proportion of children and the increasing proportion of adults in the West End population. Realism would seem to require an increasing emphasis on adult work in mapping the future programs of our churches.

Once more, a division of the overall findings by census tracts reveals several sharply different situations. Chart 15 would indicate that extremely few people want to leave Beacon Hill (K2) or Tract F6. At the other pole H2 and H3 are acceptable to only a minority of the residents interviewed, and H4 is only slightly less unpopular. Considering the realities of the housing and other environmental factors in the areas

CHART 12 -INTENTION OF WEST END RESIDENTS TO MOVE FROM THE COMMUNITY, 1948

QUESTION: WOULD YOU LIKE TO MOVE OUT OF THE WEST END WHEN THE
HOUSING SHORTAGE IS OVER?



ALL REPLIES
584 RESPONDENTS



ROMAN CATHOLIC
292 RESPONDENTS



JEWISH
75 RESPONDENTS



PROTESTANT
164 RESPONDENTS

RESPONSE	ALL REPLIES	R.C.	JEWISH	PROT.
NEGATIVE	429	189	26	143
UNCERTAIN	22	15	14	1
AFFIRMATIVE	133	88	35	20

NOTES

PROTESTANT INCLUDES EPISCOPAL AND SECT.
ONLY ONE RESPONDENT FROM ANY ONE FAMILY.
UNAFFILIATED INCLUDED IN ALL REPLIES.

CHART 13 -INTENTION OF WEST END RESIDENTS TO MOVE FROM THE COMMUNITY, CLASSIFIED BY PLACE OF BIRTH - 1948

QUESTION: WOULD YOU LIKE TO MOVE OUT OF THE WEST END WHEN THE HOUSING SHORTAGE IS OVER?



BORN IN
UNITED STATES
(446 RESPONDENTS)



BORN IN
ITALY
(36 RESPONDENTS)



BORN
ELSEWHERE
(101 RESPONDENTS)

NOTE
ONLY ONE RESPONDENT
FROM ANY FAMILY

RESPONSE	U S	ITALY	ELSEWHERE
NEGATIVE	330	19	80
UNCERTAIN	14	5	3
AFFIRMATIVE	102	12	18

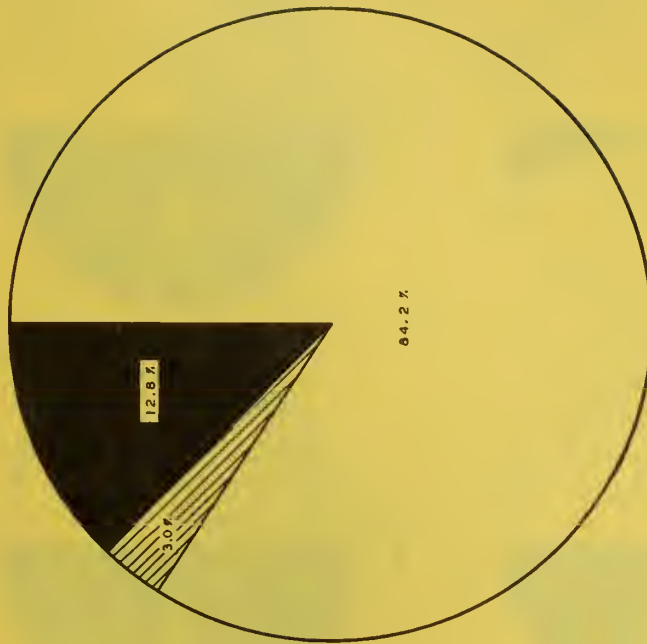
CHART 14 -INTENTION OF WEST END RESIDENTS TO MOVE FROM THE COMMUNITY, CLASSIFIED BY PARENTAL STATUS, 1948

QUESTION: WOULD YOU LIKE TO MOVE OUT OF THE WEST END WHEN THE HOUSING SHORTAGE IS OVER?



WITH CHILDREN *

153 RESPONDENTS



WITHOUT CHILDREN *

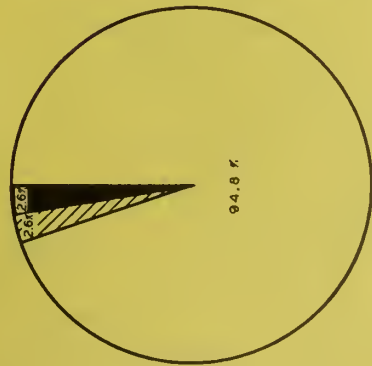
431 RESPONDENTS

RESPONSE	WITH CHILDREN	WITHOUT CHILDREN
NEGATIVE	67	363
UNCERTAIN	9	13
AFFIRMATIVE	77	55

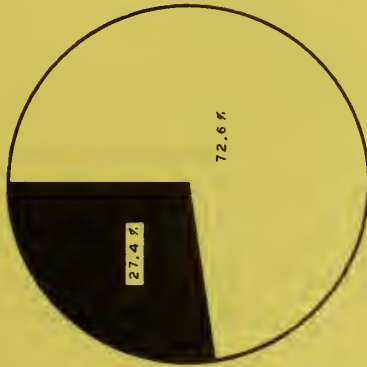
* UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE

CHART 15 -INTENTION OF WEST END RESIDENTS TO MOVE FROM THE COMMUNITY BY CENSUS TRACTS, 1948

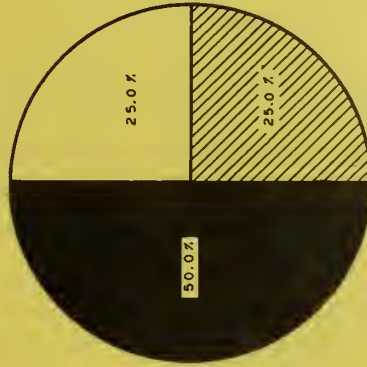
QUESTION: WOULD YOU LIKE TO MOVE OUT OF THE WEST END WHEN THE HOUSING SHORTAGE IS OVER?



F 6
38 FAMILIES



H 1
157 FAMILIES



H 2
36 FAMILIES



H 3
31 FAMILIES



H 4
73 FAMILIES



K 1
117 FAMILIES



K 2
132 FAMILIES



concerned, this is scarcely surprising. Perhaps less expected and more significant is the generally favorable attitude to residence in the heavily-populated tracts K1 and H1 at the heart of the West End. Here is the focus of much of our present work, and both actual stability of residence and psychological "sense of belonging" are important to its successful continuance. The picturing of attitude by census tracts tends to illumine and explain the previous findings in this section but it does not in any sense invalidate or minimize them. The psychological climate for the work of our churches is relatively healthy and favorable.

Each family spokesman who indicated that he would like to move was asked, "Why would you like to move?" Their responses give some index of the awareness of the residents of certain of the existing social problems we will consider in the succeeding chapter. The problems of which substantial numbers in the community are already aware are ones around which church social action looking toward change is most apt to receive support. Chart 16 groups the chief types of response. Crowding in the district and the homes, high rentals and poor housing make up the largest aggregate of responses---actually the realization of health, menace and the complaints of noise, dirt and the "environment in general" are corollaries of the same basic indictment. Even the positive yearning for rural and suburban life is an indirect censure of life without breathing room. Of 132 responses the second largest single group, twenty-nine persons, felt their neighborhood to be unsuitable for their children, two others were more explicit in citing serious juvenile delinquency.

If the community is to reverse its present tendency to decay, a process during which no resident church can remain uninfected, it is precisely these problems that must be met. If our faith is to have its promised translation into more abundant living, then the felt needs of West End people must be a major concern of West End churches. Comforting the souls tossed, twisted and wrecked by a hostile environment largely beyond their individual control is far from a sufficient response. Our churches, like the apostles, must set about to turn such a world upside down, or rather, right side up so that it may be less frustrating and more conducive to wholesome living.

Of equal interest were the reasons given for wishing to stay in the West End, and 362 responded to the question, "Why would you not like to move?" Groupings of responses to this question are shown on Chart 17. The survival of any residential area is dependent upon its having real and special purpose, i.e., function, for the people living there. Over half of the persons expressing an intention to remain in the West End stressed its advantages as a "convenient," "central" location or its proximity to their employment in the central city. "Convenience" doubtless meant many things to different people, but in sum what is demonstrated is that a large group of residents consciously select the West End because they prefer to live close to the city's hub. The proximity to downtown, work, shopping, entertainment, crowds, the tempo of the central city are, in themselves, strong attractions. There is good reason to presume that the type of urbanite who likes to live "in the center of things" will be a strong continuing influence for the stabilization and long life of the

West End as a residential area.

The second and only other significant group of replies stemmed largely from the "proper" sections of the West End and tended to support Firey's contention that amazingly strong value attachments are associated with Beacon Hill. Thus, although middle-western eyes may see the tall, closely-packed, old, not always handsome, largely lawnless Hill residences as "glorified tenements," the residents themselves stressed changes of the themes of the "desirability" of their neighborhood and of their particular homes, and the traditional attachment of long personal or family residence. This subjective value judgment, this psychological attitude is, in itself, a present significant stabilizing factor just as it has been, as we have seen, for the past century and a half.

Unexpressed, by its very nature, was a probable third strong reason for central-city residence. For many the rooming houses and flats of the north slope and elsewhere in the West End give the residents a relative anonymity. For various reasons, many of them psychological, men and women have fled from the smaller communities where "everyone knows everyone else's business" to the comparative freedom from social prying--and social restraint--provided by the "lonely crowds" of the central city.

The church strategy that weighs and adjusts to these principal functions of West End residence, the main reasons why people choose to live there, will have taken long strides toward effectiveness and permanence.

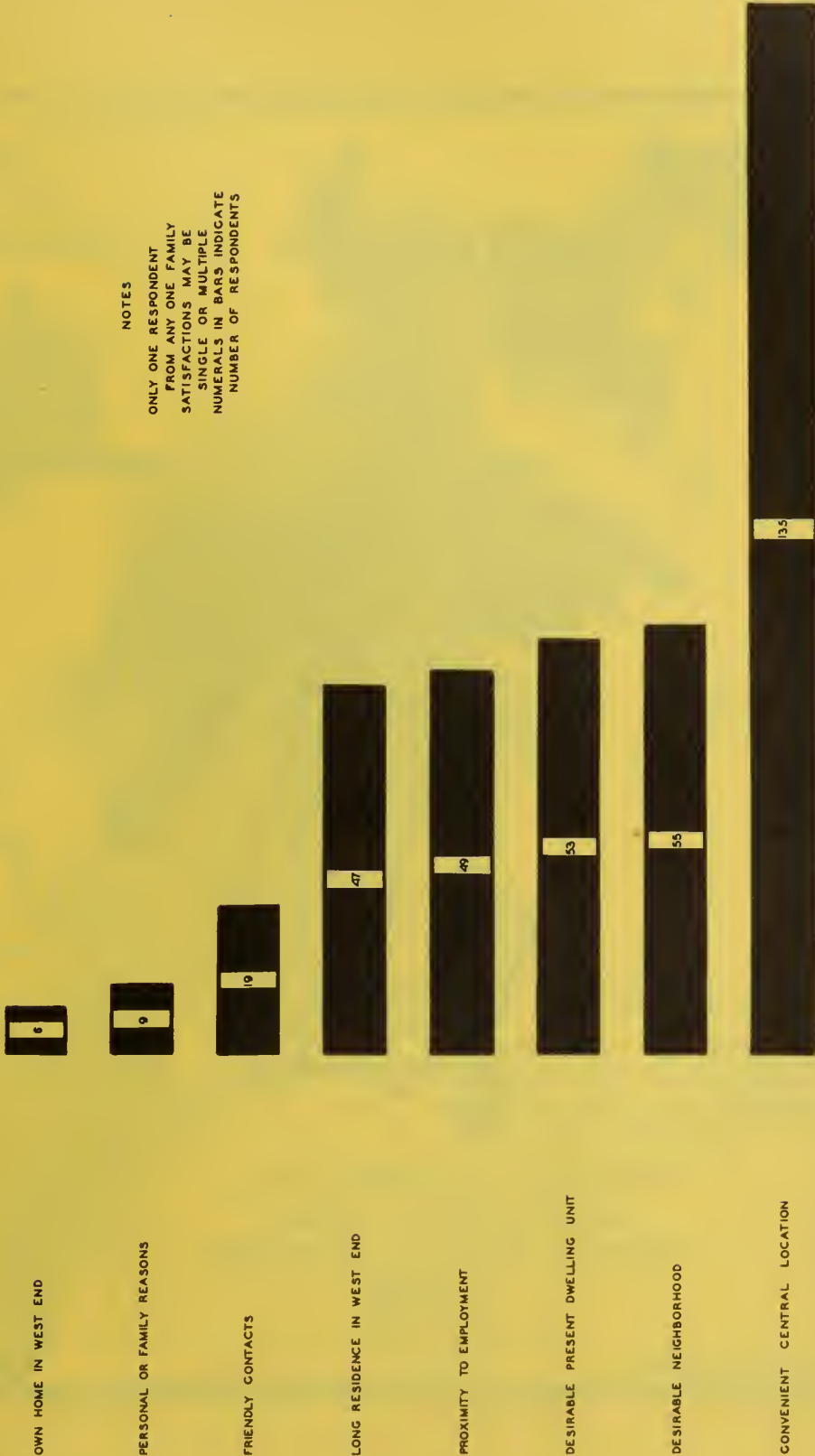
CHART 16 - THE DISSATISFACTIONS OF 132 WEST END
RESIDENTS INTENDING TO MOVE FROM THE COMMUNITY

QUESTION: WHY WOULD YOU LIKE TO MOVE?



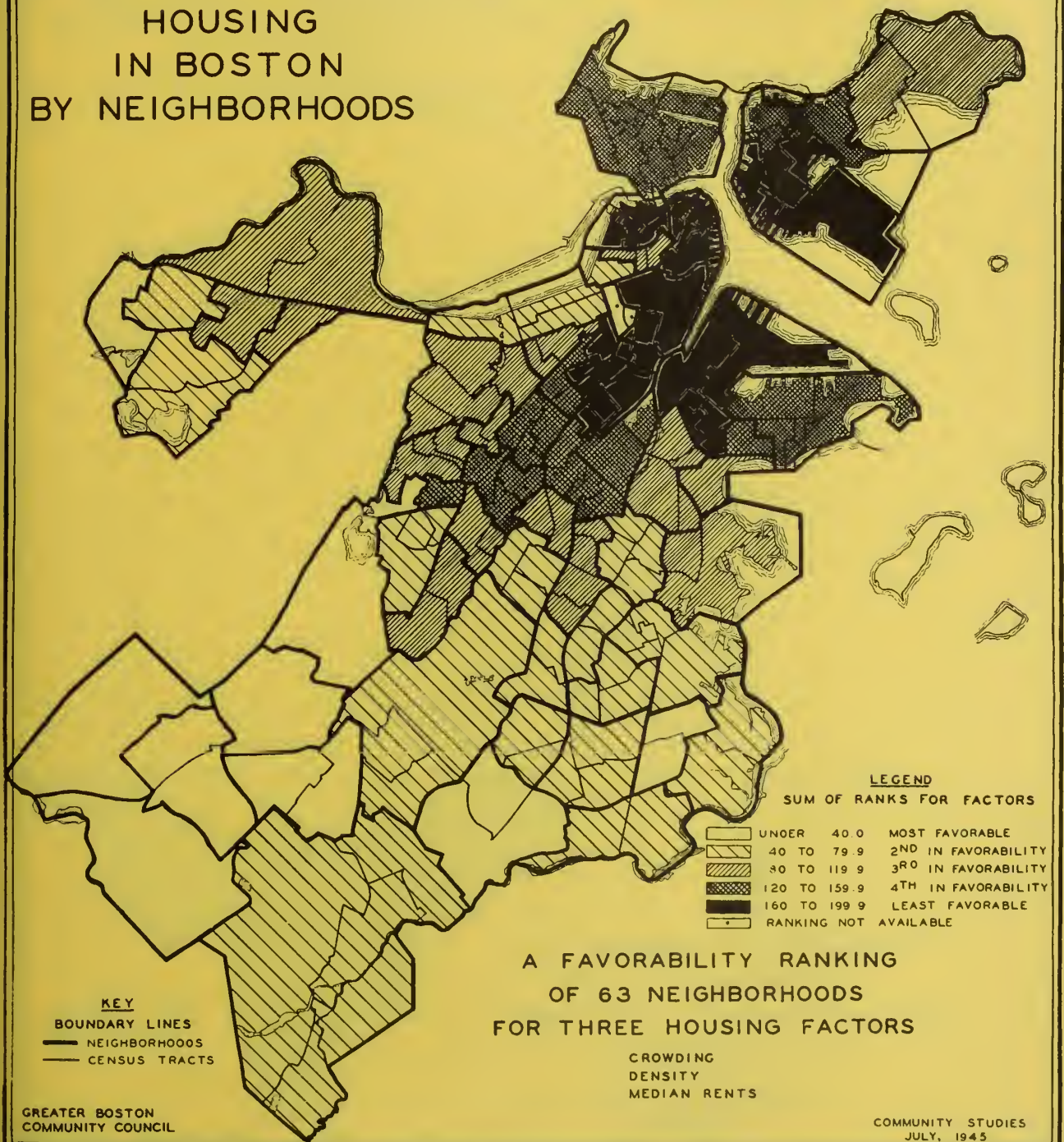
TO REMAIN IN THE COMMUNITY

QUESTION: WHY WOULD YOU NOT LIKE TO MOVE?



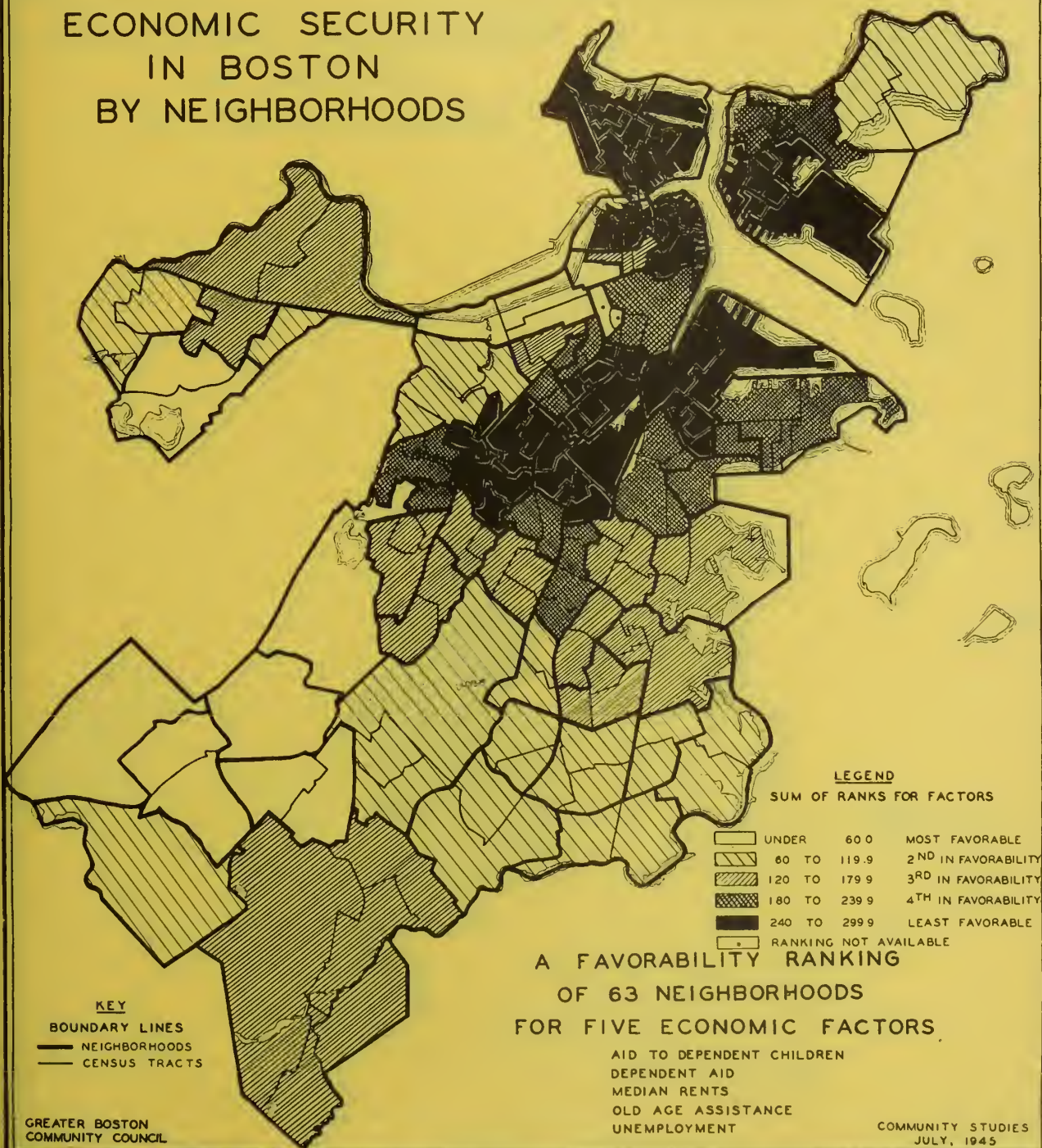
MAP 15

HOUSING IN BOSTON BY NEIGHBORHOODS



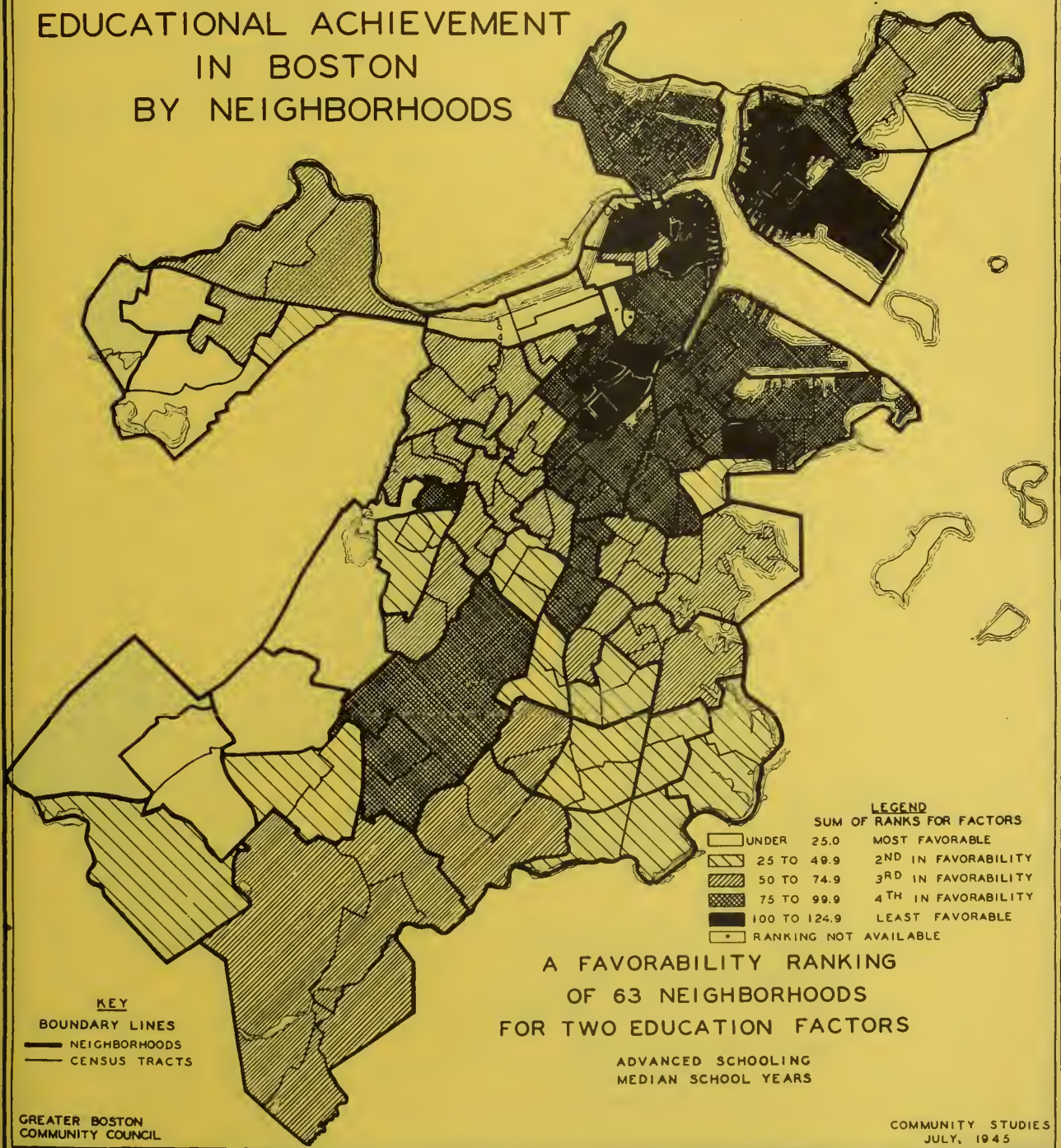
MAP 16

ECONOMIC SECURITY IN BOSTON BY NEIGHBORHOODS



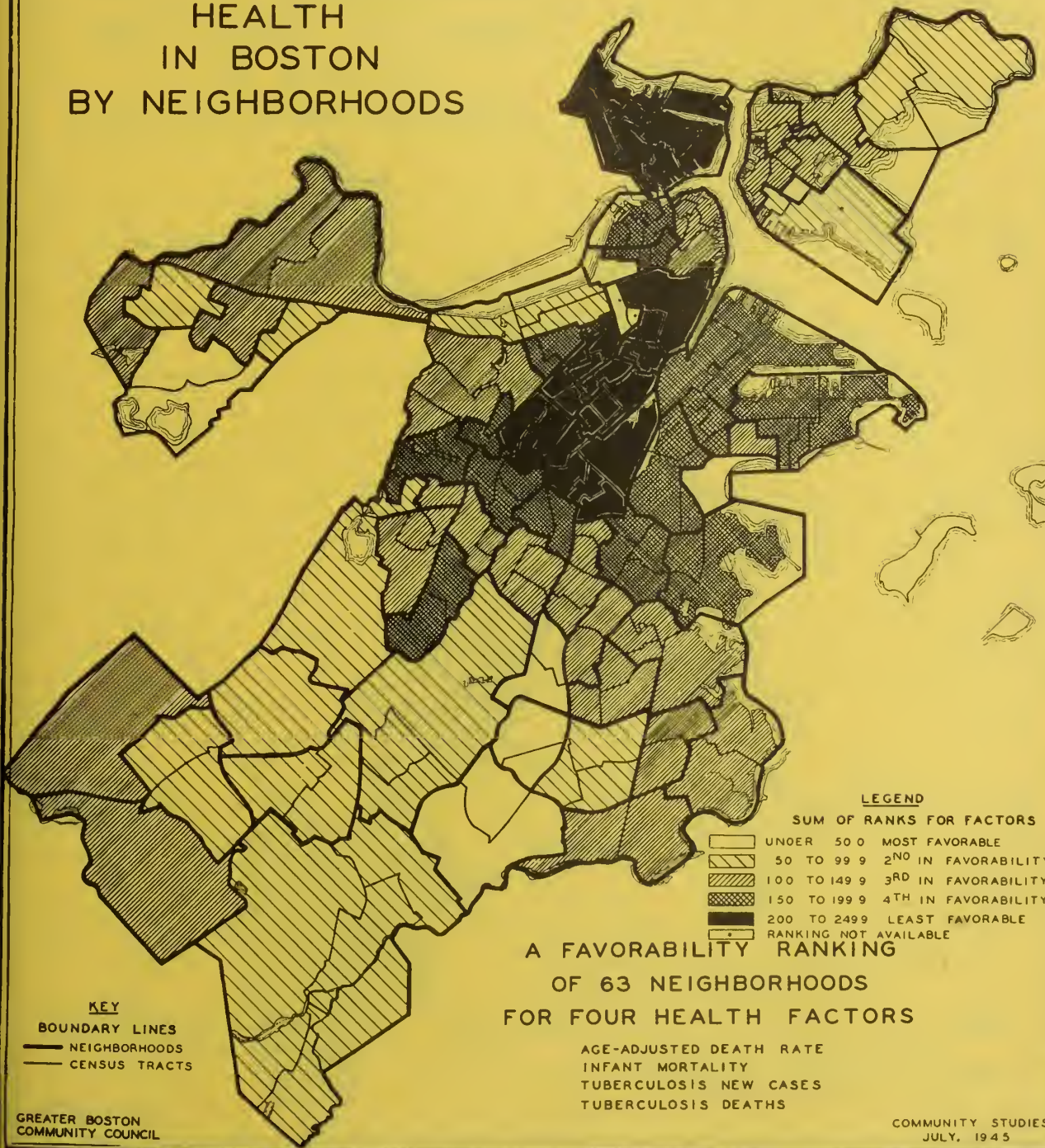
MAP 17

EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN BOSTON BY NEIGHBORHOODS



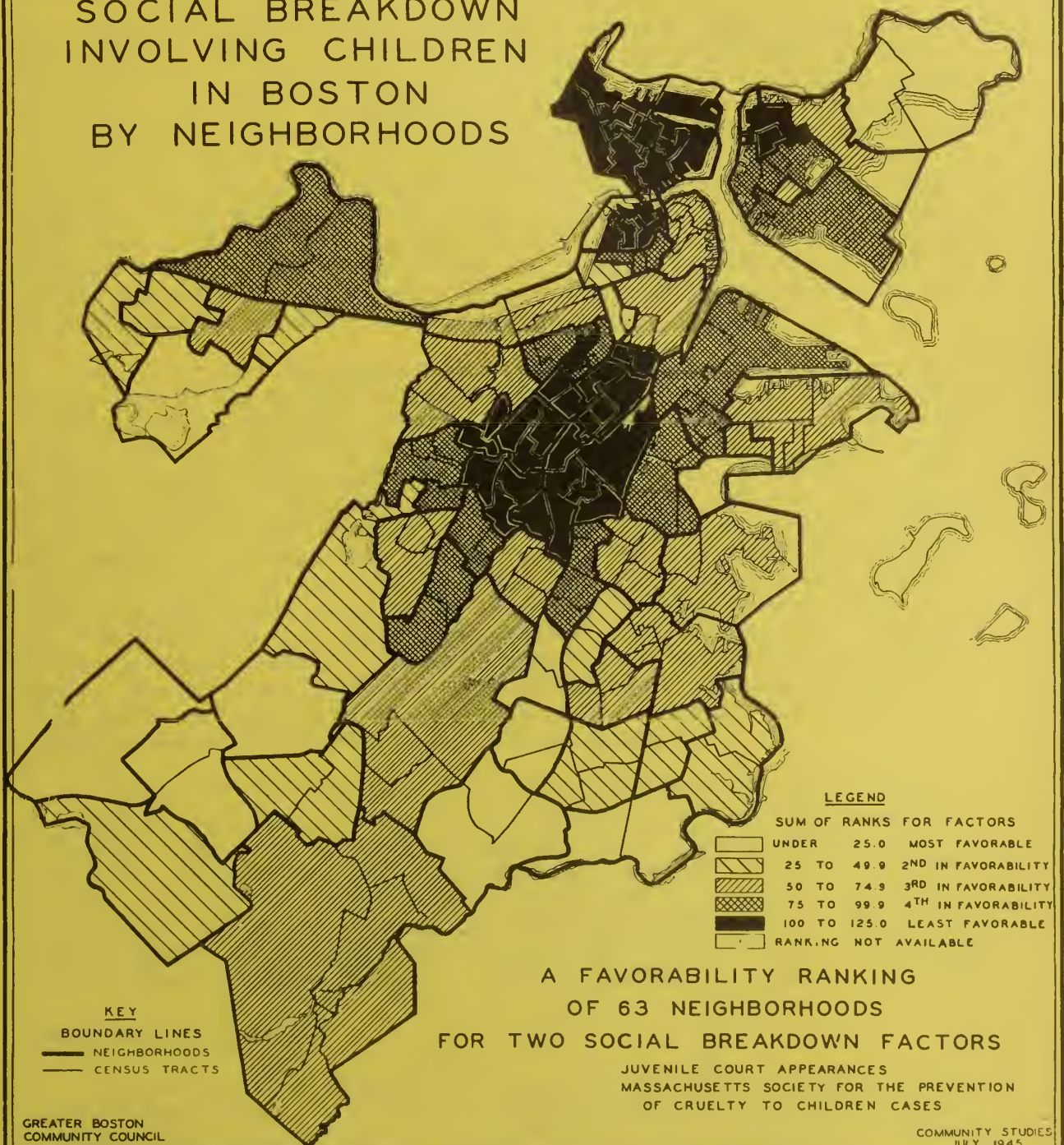
MAP 18

HEALTH IN BOSTON BY NEIGHBORHOODS



MAP 19

SOCIAL BREAKDOWN INVOLVING CHILDREN IN BOSTON BY NEIGHBORHOODS



Chapter 4. Social Quality, Social Problems, Social Resources

The City Setting

Characteristics of social and economic quality derived from the 1940 United States Census, the records of various city departments and data from public and private welfare agencies were compiled for all the neighborhoods of Boston by the Community Studies Department of the Greater Boston Community Council. The neighborhoods were ranked for favorability according to certain groupings of related social and economic criteria and set forth in a series of maps to be utilized for constructive social planning. They are reproduced in this study as Maps 15 to 19 inclusive. Table 11A in the Appendix compares our area of study to Boston as a whole with reference to these basic social and economic factors and in each instance indicates the relative position of the West End among the city's fifteen health and welfare areas. (1.)

While a closer analysis of data from which these maps are drawn will occupy much of the present chapter, certain observations on the Community Council maps are in order. Four of the five maps illustrate the three distinct strata of social and economic quality in the West End. The one exception, health, shows equal ranking for the West End Proper and the Back of Beacon Hill and both rated far below Beacon Hill. The West End Proper ranks among the "least favorable" neighborhoods on three criteria out of five and does no better than next to last on the other two. Beacon Hill at the other pole stands with the "most favorable" neighborhoods three times and never falls below second ranking. The Back of Beacon Hill is "in the middle" in more than a geographical sense. On three of five criteria its third ranking is midway between the top and the bottom of the scale. The two other cases of fourth rating again demonstrate that the Back of Beacon Hill has somewhat more in common with the area across Cambridge Street than with its south slope neighbors.

Students of city sociology may also be interested in the strong deviations of the Boston pattern from the ecological school of "concentric circles." What does seem to be illustrated to a considerable degree is a "corridor of respectability," running from Beacon Hill at the city's hub, through the Back Bay, Brookline and the southern part of Brighton, westward into the suburbs. In social and economic quality Beacon Hill has far more in common with the Back Bay than with the rest of the West End. Both church and neighborhood planning will be profoundly affected by this fact.

Basic Social Statistics

Certain basic demographic factors which have been considered in the previous chapter are included in Table 5 so that they may be readily available for comparison with the social and economic factors with which

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1. Greater Boston Community Council, The People of Boston and Its Fifteen Health and Welfare Areas, 1944.

TABLE 5

Demographic, Social and Economic Factors Affecting the West End

Demographic, Social and Economic Factors	Boston	West End	Neighborhoods		
			Number of Boston Neighborhoods Reporting	West End Proper	Ranking among Neighborhoods*
Population under 18 Years of Age, 1940 (%)	26.4	20.8	63	26.3	39
Population 65 Years and Over, 1940 (%)	7.9	8.2	63	6.5	20.5
Native White Population, 1940 (%)	73.2	69.8	63	66.1	53
Foreign-born White Popula- tion, 1940 (%)	23.5	29.3	63	33.0	58
Density of Population, 1940 (persons per inhabited acre)	94.5	369.7	63	557.0	61
Unemployed, 1940 (% of labor force)	19.8	18.2	63	23.6	45
Median Monthly Rent, 1940 (\$)	28.41	25.75	63	20.96	49
Rents under \$25, 1940 (%)	37.9	46.8	63	67.1	49
Home Ownership, 1940 (%)	20.9	7.8	67	5.5	62
Crowded Households, 1940 (%) over 1.5 persons per room)	3.9	4.5	67	6.5	58
Dwelling Units Needing Major Repairs, 1940 (%)	9.1	6.7	67	12.7	41
Dwelling Units without Private Bath, 1940 (%)	13.9	12.4	67	19.4	47.5
Median School Years Completed by Persons 25 Years and over, 1940	8.9	8.8	63	7.5	58
Advanced Schooling, 1940 (ratio - % of population over 14 years in school to age-group 15-21 years inclusive.)	58.4	46.5	63	42.3	61

* Favorability is ranked from number 1 as the preferred rating. The low percentage of aged, high percentage of native population (census of population, high rentals, low percentage of unemployed, high percentage needing repairs, high percentage with private bath, high and deaths from tuberculosis, low rate of juvenile delinquency, few

Neighborhoods				Census Tracts					
Back of Beacon Hill	Ranking among Neighborhoods*	Beacon Hill (Tract K-2)	Ranking among Neighborhoods*	Tract H-1	Tract H-2	Tract H-3	Tract H-4	Tract F-6	Tract K-1
15.3	55	6.6	62	29.0	31.3	19.1	21.1	4.5	15.9
10.3	56	13.8	59	5.5	6.2	4.6	10.7	20.9	7.8
74.4	40	76.5	34.5	64.7	63.4	73.4	66.6	76.9	76.2
24.2	46	23.2	40.5	34.4	36.3	24.7	32.6	22.0	22.1
441.0	59	148.9	36	622.6	551.4	810.1	421.6	400.6	451.2
16.5	22.5	7.2	3.5	26.1	29.2	11.8	23.6	15.7	14.8
36.63	13	57.95	2	21.38	18.17	23.86	20.90	43.91	31.99
33.7	33	4.0	5.5	65.3	80.3	52.9	69.2	14.2	29.0
6.0	59	16.9	40	5.7	5.9	3.8	6.5	6.4	5.5
2.6	31	2.0	30	5.9	7.3	4.8	7.6	1.7	2.6
1.3	7	1.0	4.5	8.0	7.6	7.5	23.4	0.0	1.6
7.4	37.5	2.7	23	10.8	20.7	6.6	43.4	6.5	3.1
11.4	10	12.5	1.5	7.2	5.3	8.7	7.7	9.8	12.0
50.1	53	64.6	21	46.4	49.3	19.9	45.5	38.0	53.0

following are considered favorable factors: high percentage of youth, gives only "native white"), low percentage of foreign-born, low density percentage of home ownership, low percentage crowded households, low level of schooling, low infant mortality, low death rate, few new cases cases of public assistance.

TABLE 5, Continued

Demographic, Social and Economic Factors	Boston	West End	Neighborhoods		
			No. Rptg.	West End Proper	Rank
Infant Mortality (deaths under 1 year per 1,000 live births, annually)					
1941-43	35.6	23.3	64	26.9	15.5
1941-44	36.0	25.7	64	28.1	14.5
1941-45	35.8	27.1	64	27.5	15
1942-46	35.5	27.7	64	28.4	19
Age-adjusted Death Rate, 1943 (deaths per 1,000 persons)	13.8	13.9	63	15.4	52
Tuberculosis - New Cases per 1,000 Population Annually					
1936-40	116.6	128.4	53	150.0	41
1941-43	114.8	137.0	63	156.5	54
1941-45	110.0	126.8	64	143.6	53
1942-46	110.0	123.9	64	131.1	51
Tuberculosis - Deaths per 1,000 Population Annually					
1936-40	48.6	53.8	53	65.6	42
1941-43	61.0	84.4	63	114.5	56
1941-45	61.0	80.7	64	104.9	56
1942-46	61.7	75.5	64	97.4	54
Juvenile Delinquency (average annual number of appearances in court per 1,000 children, 7 to 16 years of age)					
1936-40	14.2	27.8	58	32.2	56
1941-43	14.7	35.7	63	37.3	60
1941-45	15.9	36.8	64	38.5	62
1942-46	16.0	35.8	64	36.9	61
Dependent Aid, March 1944, Cases per 1,000 Population	4.45	7.7	63	10.7	55
Aid to Dependent Children, March 1944, Cases per 1,000 Households	10.55	10.6	63	16.2	50
Old Age Assistance, March 1944, Cases per 1,000 persons 65 years of age and over	228.0	213.0	63	274.0	50

Neighborhoods				Census Tracts					
Back of B.H.	Rank	Beacon Hill	Rank	Tract H-1	Tract H-2	Tract H-3	Tract H-4	Tract F-6	Tract K-1
17.9	2	22.9	8	31.8	25.6	8.9	27.4	42.5	11.1
19.7	2	30.3	18	27.7	37.0	7.0	34.0	39.2	14.0
27.0	14	23.8	4	32.1	31.7	5.9	30.9	36.4	24.2
26.4	12	25.7	10	29.5	32.6	6.1	34.9	20.4	25.5
15.4	52	10.0	3						
150.7	42	57.6	2	169.5	73.0	82.9	199.8	185.8	104.0
189.0	55	50.5	8	148.5	172.0	87.3	212.0	414.0	131.0
187.8	57	43.4	4.5	129.7	117.6	87.1	242.1	443.7	114.2
208.4	58	65.0	15	119.5	117.6	43.6	237.9	567.9	118.2
70.4	44	13.3	1	86.0	33.2	15.1	82.1	103.8	40.7
86.0	54	14.4	3	97.5	172.0	58.0	148.5	236.2	32.8
97.8	54	8.7	2	89.0	125.0	43.6	169.9	248.4	43.3
102.9	56	4.3	1	96.6	88.2	34.9	152.9	283.9	47.3
14.9	37	5.2	10	32.0	34.6	17.5	36.7	64.5	11.6
37.4	61	13.8	33	41.5	26.7	27.8	40.0	86.0	34.3
38.4	61	14.5	32	41.1	32.1	21.7	49.0	93.2	30.4
38.4	63	13.5	30.5	37.1	31.3	19.2	55.2	83.9	28.7
5.4	49	1.1	13.5						
6.8	27	0.9	4						
236.5	43	75.5	1						

this chapter is primarily concerned. In so far as possible, the figures are presented by census tracts as well as by neighborhoods and for Boston and the West End as a whole. Both the sharp internal contrasts of the West End and the concern of the individual churches for detailed knowledge of particular areas makes this extended subdivision desirable.

The social environment in which men and churches live profoundly affects their character. The church or the man that can escape infection in a deteriorating neighborhood is rare indeed. Conversely, both tend to follow the upward trend of a growing, healthy community. The assets and liabilities of a community, its favorable resources and its stumbling blocks, are both the limitations and the tools of its people and its churches. To the degree that we thoroughly analyze and understand our environment, to that degree may we discern the best leverages for improving it.

Land Use and Zoning

As was seen on Map 4 the West End island of residential use is surrounded by a sea of non-residential use. The southern and western sides are flanked by public parks, the northern and eastern sides by industrial and business establishments. In terms of the area boundaries, "flanked" is scarcely the correct word. Public institutions, industry and business have invaded the West End substantially and this has been a major factor in population decline. Residential buildings have been replaced by buildings used for other purposes. Even as late as the relatively static span from 1930 to 1940, the number of acres used for "inhabited dwellings" declined from 84 to 74.39. Study of Map 4 will show that a very large portion of H3 has been pre-empted for the Massachusetts General Hospital and other non-residential use. Only a small fraction of H2 remains after the Boston and Maine tracks, the North Station and the industrial district east of the North Station are subtracted. Central commercial and downtown business-use blot residences from the northern third of H4 and the northern two-thirds of F6.

To what extent do present city zoning ordinances encourage or discourage continued commercial absorption of the dwindling West End residential island? From Green and Leverett Streets northeastward, H2 and H4 have been zoned for "General Business" since 1924. What little residence remains in this area has no legal defenses against being crowded out. All of F6 except a single "Local Business" block from Allston to Bulfinch Place between Bowdoin and Bulfinch Street lies within the General Business zone as do both sides of Cambridge Street. On the other hand the balance of the West End Proper, H1 and H3, and that part of H4 from the State House to just above Cambridge Street are at present zoned to permit only local business on 65- or 80-foot frontages. The best that can be said for this is that local business districts, by contrast with general business or industrial zoning, assume a neighborhood residential context served by permitted local shops and stores.

The most interesting discovery in studying the zoning regulations governing areas of the West End is that the only changes made since 1924 were in the direction of favoring residential use. In 1924 the north

side of Beacon Street, Joy Street to a point beyond Pinckney and Phillips Street and its intersections were zoned for local business. Largely through the consistent efforts of the Beacon Hill Improvement Association these strips have since been restricted to general residence. Both slopes of Beacon Hill, all of K2 and K1 except the Charles Street and Cambridge Street frontage, is now zoned as "general residence." The legal trend here has been for increased protection of the residential character of the Hill. It is also notable that no part of the West End is restricted to single residence. Height limits range from 65 feet for both sides of the hill west of Joy Street to 80 feet in the adjoining areas and 155 feet from Court, Green and Leverett north. These limitations inhibit the conversion of Beacon Hill to "skyscraper" apartments but, equally, militate against single residence.

On the whole, the "island" shown on Map 4 is a reflection of the area given protection by present city zoning regulations. It has "the law on its side" against additional business invasion. The patchwork, indiscriminate, mixture of business, industrial, and residence areas found in East Boston is not repeated in the West End. Here the area giving preference to residential use is relatively compact and unbroken. At least this basis exists, therefore, for planned rehabilitation and for encouraging private investment to that end.

Housing (2.)

Homes can make or break family ties and healthy family life. Cramped, dismal tenements send children and adults into the streets seeking escape. In the general American picturing of the home as a single-family house with adequate lawn and backyard, the West End is almost entirely without homes. The predominant type of "dwelling unit" in every census tract of the West End is a building housing many families. The census groupings of five to nine, ten to nineteen and twenty or more families per structure are the dominant ones from Beacon Hill to the North Station.

Rental costs are, nevertheless, comparatively high. Even the very inferior housing in the West End Proper commands rentals higher than in thirteen other of the sixty-three Boston neighborhoods--this is true either in terms of median rent or of the percentage of rentals under \$25. The median rental on the Back of Beacon Hill is sharply higher, the neighborhood ranking thirteenth among all Boston neighborhoods. One-third of the rents, however, were below \$25 per month in 1940, an average about midway in the ranking of Boston neighborhoods. Only one Boston neighborhood commanded higher median rental than does Beacon Hill and only four had a lesser proportion of rentals under \$25 in 1940. Chart 18 compares Boston, the West End and the individual census tracts in terms of median rental. A slightly lower West End median rental than the

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2. For this and succeeding sections, see detailed summary in Table 5. The text is intended to draw out only certain especially significant conclusions.

Boston median resolves into substantially higher medians for the three Hill tracts and substantially lower medians for the "H" tracts. The steps upward from right to left are not merely rental differences. They tend to indicate the irregular and not easily surmounted rungs of the social ladder as well.

Despite their relatively high cost, almost all of the dwelling units are old. Construction of new dwelling units in the '30's was less than one-tenth of 1 per cent of the total existing habitation. No substantial new housing project has been launched or seriously projected in the ensuing years although some renovations have been made. Only 2.4 per cent of all dwelling units were built in the twenty-year span from 1920 to 1940, whereas 60 per cent, three out of every five, were built before the beginning of this century. Higher rental value apparently made reasonable repair possible on the front and back of Beacon Hill, but across Cambridge Street the 1940 census found nearly 13 per cent of all dwelling units in need of major repairs. Tract H4 was the most dilapidated, nearly one of every four families lived in "homes" in serious disrepair.

Another consequence of ancient housing is that plumbing is apt to be primitive or even nonexistent. More than twelve of every hundred West End dwelling units have no private bath. Again H4 is the worst offender with 47.5 per cent of its dwelling units lacking private baths. Twenty-two of sixty-three Boston neighborhoods excell Beacon Hill and thirty-seven outdo the Back of Beacon Hill in providing baths for the exclusive use of each resident family.

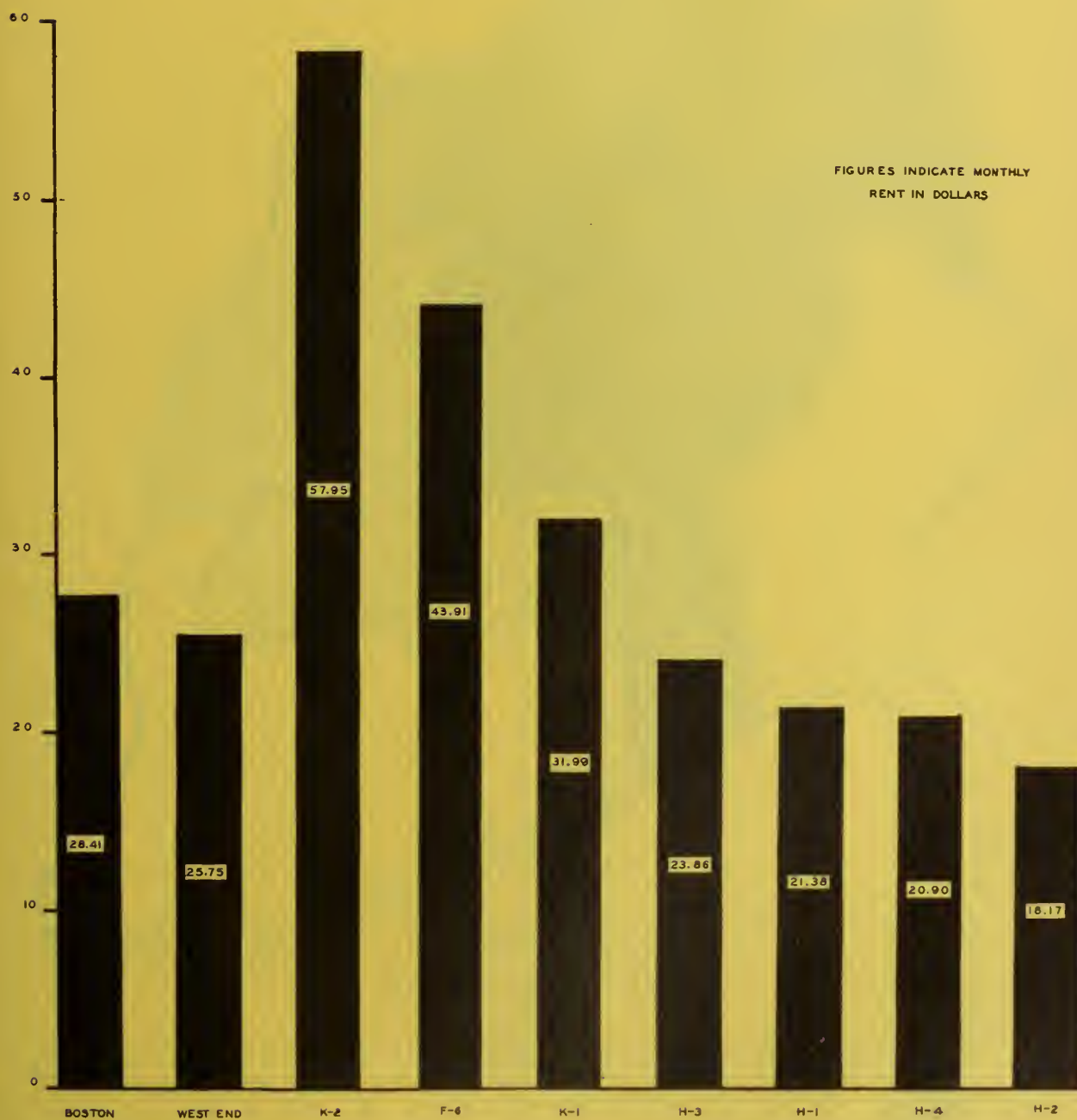
The United States Census sets up a very modest standard for considering a family's household quarters "crowded." If the persons in the dwelling unit exceed an average of one and a half for each room, then the house or flat is considered crowded. On this basis 4.5 per cent of West End households are crowded as against a city average of 3.9 per cent. Nine of the fifteen health and welfare areas have a better record in this respect. The West End Proper ranks a sorry fifty-eighth among sixty-three neighborhoods with its 6.5 per cent of overcrowded households. Even Beacon Hill is inferior to twenty-nine other neighborhoods in this regard. The repercussions of this condition upon the persons involved may well be disastrous. The study, Protestantism in East Boston, revealed similar overcrowding there and stressed implications which apply with equal force to the West End:

Serious overcrowding in most neighborhoods, together with lack of private baths, threatens the welfare of the people ... It is likewise detrimental to the personality development and the moral and spiritual growth of the residents, especially the children. For example, private devotions and contemplation are hardly possible. Sexual aberrations multiply where there is no privacy. Overcrowding is a devilish thing that threatens human dignity and demolishes moral standards. Dry statistics may tell a very human story for those who can visualize their social meaning.

Map 20 is designed to show the relation of the West End census tracts

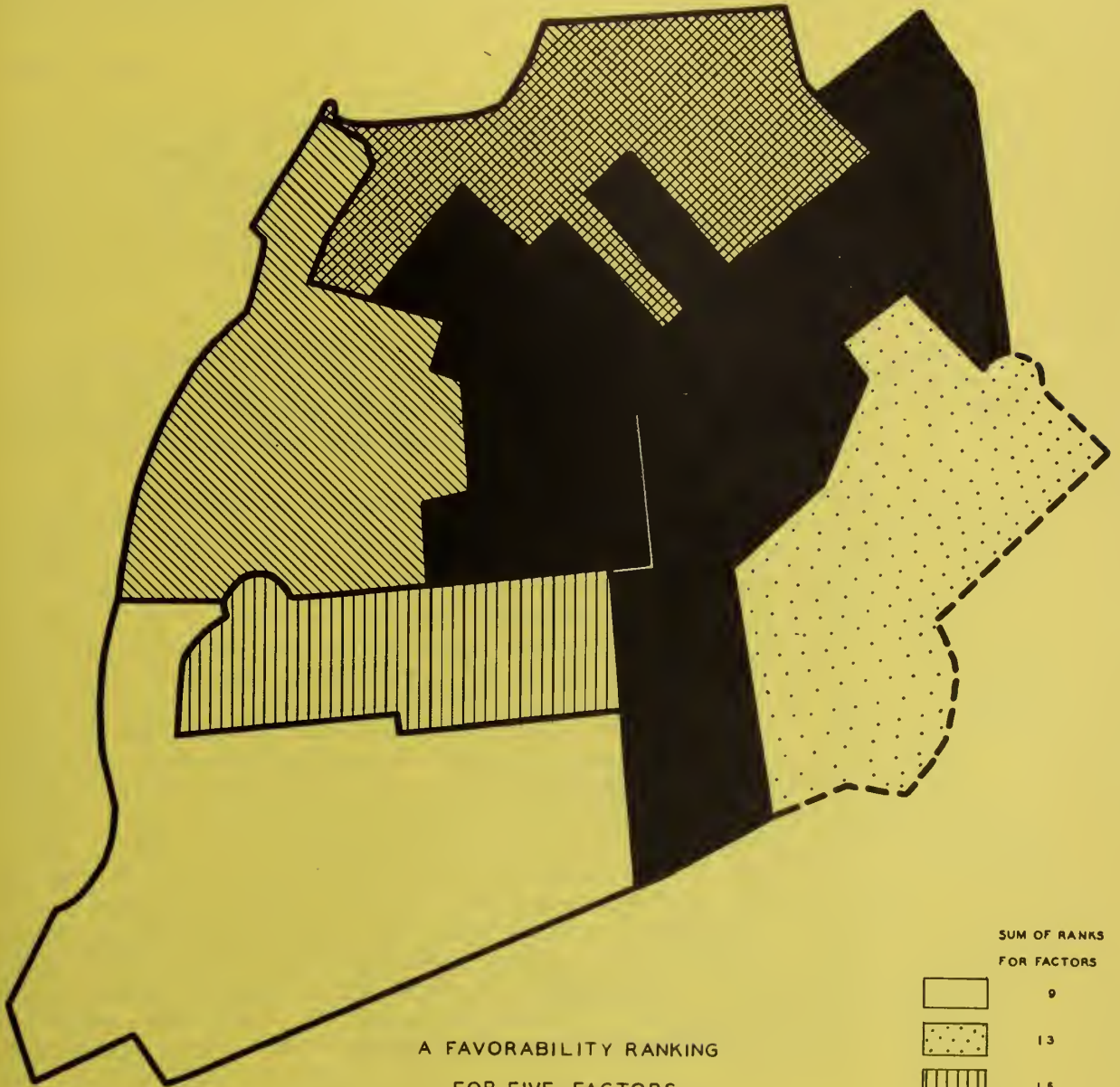
CHART 18 - MEDIAN RENT IN DOLLARS

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940



MAP 20 -HOUSING







WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940



A FAVORABILITY RANKING
FOR FIVE FACTORS

CROWDING
DENSITY
NEED OF MAJOR REPAIRS
PRIVATE BATH
MEDIAN RENT

SUM OF RANKS
FOR FACTORS

	9
	13
	15
	20
	27
	28

to each other in terms of the quality of their housing. Equal weight has been assigned arbitrarily to each of the five major housing criteria--crowding, density, need of major repairs, lack of private bath and median rent. On this basis H1 and H4 at the heart of the district and with more than 12,500 residents, is cursed with the worst housing conditions. Even Beacon Hill, which appears as pure white by contrast with the other tracts on this map, has housing conditions inferior to those in twenty other Boston neighborhoods.

Rooming Houses

A startlingly large, although not precisely measurable, proportion of West End people are "unattached." That is to say they live apart from all family connections in apartments, hotel rooms and rooming-house cubicles. The rooming house, says Arnold M. Rose, writing in the American Sociological Review for August, 1947, is "the currently single most important form of living arrangement for self-supporting unattached persons."

The Massachusetts State Licensing Board defines a rooming house as "a house where lodgings are let to five or more persons not within the second degree of kindred to the person conducting it." Licenses for 246 such houses in the West End were effective in June of 1948.

The distribution by census tracts of these houses is shown on Map 21. It should be noted that the many West End landlords and families renting to less than five unrelated families are not required to obtain a license and are not included in this listing. In general the rooming house rentals and type of occupants reflect their location. Most of the sixty-nine Beacon Hill houses are better kept, command rentals around \$10 per week and have a "refined" clientele. The greatest concentration is on Pinckney Street where twenty-nine houses are licensed, but Beacon, Joy, Mt. Vernon, Chestnut and almost all other streets are represented. A graduate student exploring this particular aspect of West End life for this study observed that "Chestnut Street is rapidly being converted into rooming houses. The ones listed there by the Massachusetts Licensing Board have recent dates." (3.) The cumulation of evidence is that a major change in the West End in recent years is the rather rapid trend toward subdivision of old Beacon Hill homes for use as apartments and rooming houses. The change since 1930-33 when the writer was a theological student resident at 2 Louisburg Square is very clearly evident and marked. Our canvassers found several houses in the midst of remodeling. The record of building and repair permits tells the same story. So far at least these houses have made an effort to conform to the "exclusive" tradition of the Hill

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3. The Rev. Wallen L. Bean, candidate for the Ph.D. degree in Boston University, conducted a survey for this Department in the spring of 1948 as partial fulfillment of his scholastic requirements, from which much of the material used in this section is drawn. The paper, together with his completed schedules, is available in the files of the Department of Research and Strategy.

and have benefited from its prestige, but a prolonged continuation of the trend would probably result in a declining social status for all of Beacon Hill. At present, however, most of the Beacon Hill rooming houses are set apart both geographically and by condition, rental and clientele from their poorer cousins fanning out below the back of the State House.

In this section also there are two "classes" of rooming houses, but the line of demarcation is not as clearly defined. Rentals, appearance, maintenance and tenants "become shabbier and shabbier" as one descends the north slope and walks toward Howard Street and Scollay Square or across Cambridge Street. Hancock Street is solidly lined with rooming houses, Temple and Bowdoin almost equally so. Across Cambridge just three streets have a substantial number of such houses, Staniford, Lynde and Green. Spreading eastward into F6, the Allston Street houses are close to Hill standards, but quality drops rapidly as the short descent is made to Howard Street. The "three-decker" stratification is clear in the rooming-house pattern. Our student-study estimated, from inquiries made, average 1948 weekly rent as \$10 on the Hill, about \$7 in the Hancock Street area and \$5 or less across Cambridge Street.

Hotels as well as rooming houses serve the unattached and each stratum has its substantial establishments in the West End, from the exclusive Bellevue catering largely to wealthy older women and the Boston City Club for men to the cluster of low-priced hotels near Bulfinch Place. One of these, the Argonne housing 135 residents, was until recently a project of the Salvation Army but has now been sold to new owners whose interest is purely a business one. The largest of the low-priced hotels is the Beacon Chambers on Myrtle Street, 11, which shelters 350 unattached men.

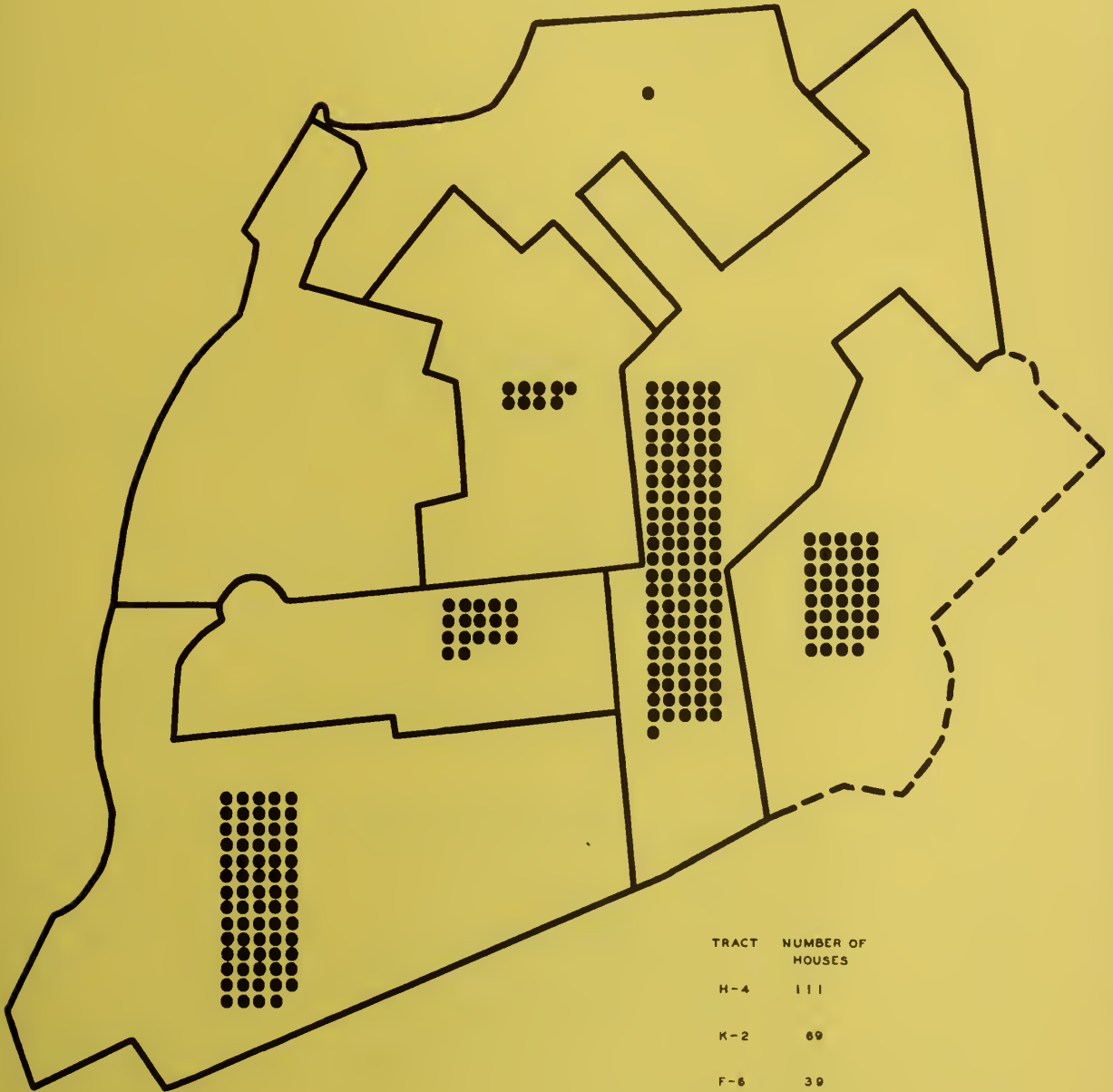
While many of these unattached rooming house dwellers are students, temporary job holders and drifters who remain in the district a relatively short time, many others live out the greater part of their lives in one room. One Hancock Street landlord reported residence spans ranging from two to thirty years.

The actual number of persons living unattached lives in the West End is large and growing. Mr. Bean concluded from his observations that the average tenancy in licensed rooming houses was about thirteen persons. This would mean that 3,200 are thus housed, with a probable 1,000 more in the hotels. Many other unattached men and women live as lodgers in houses renting to less than five tenants, in flats and apartments and even in lonely grandeur in some Beacon Hill single residences. An estimate of 5,000 men and women living alone would seem to be reasonable for the district as a whole. This very large number and proportion of the population presents a strong challenge to our ministry. The West End offers an aggravated case of a serious modern disease. Treatment and cure depend upon understanding. The article by Mr. Rose already referred to contains much relevant information and analysis from which we can draw.

In the United States as a whole, 1940 census figures indicated that 14.2 per cent of the population over twenty years of age is unattached. A total of over twelve million persons falls in this category.

MAP 21 -LICENSED ROOMING HOUSES

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1948



TRACT	NUMBER OF HOUSES
H-4	1 1 1
K-2	6 9
F-6	3 9
K-1	1 7
H-1	9
H-2	1
H-3	0

Historically this is a modern phenomenon tracing to the industrial revolution, the requirements of industry, the attraction of cities and the relative inability of rural areas to support all the people born in them. For many "unattachedness" is a temporary status, but almost 10 per cent of our population never gets married. Three principal types of unattached persons in American history are cited, "the immigrants, the hoboes and other indigents and the native-born, self-supporting migrants to cities." All of these types have been and are represented in the West End. In fact the third group would seem to subdivide into two distinct sections--single young people converging upon the city from rural backgrounds to "make their own way" and older persons who have outlasted their families and cannot or no longer wish to maintain their own private homes.

In the last century the boarding house was the characteristic habitation of the unattached, but it was supplanted by the restaurant and the rooming house probably because the earlier form "did not have enough flexibility with respect to time for eating and coming home at night and did not have enough privacy."

The main concern of Mr. Rose's study is the failure of public and private enterprise to provide more satisfactory living arrangements for this large sector of the population. He points out that very few structures now used as rooming houses were originally constructed for that purpose.

Few, if any, buildings are built with the intention of making rooming houses out of them. Thus, rooming houses tend to be old buildings, and not always suited for their purpose. Their sanitary facilities are old-fashioned and perhaps worn out. The rooms are not spaced properly for individual living. There may be no fire exit, and if there is one it is likely to be through someone's private room, which is usually kept locked. In various other ways, the rooming house in a converted structure is an undesirable place to live.

This tenancy of "the cast-offs among residences" does not seem to be justified by inability of unattached persons to pay for more suitable housing. "The income of the average unattached person is half to two-thirds as large as that of the average whole family." Moreover, the typical unattached person is accustomed to paying a greater proportion of his income for housing than does the average family. The reason, Mr. Rose concludes, is not to be found in lack of need or in inability to pay, but rather in the failure of this group or of the situation itself to attract substantial public or private capital for investment in more suitable housing. The heavy and growing concentration of unattached persons in the West End makes it a logical site for the development of just such experimental projects. The prospect of reasonable economic return is good, and the profit in terms of social gain would be almost unlimited.

The present rooming house pattern, Mr. Rose concludes, is a socially degenerative one. He cites Chicago as typical:

The areas of Chicago in which the unattached are concentrated

have been found by correlation to be areas of economic blight, of commercial and industrial invasion, of old structures in poor condition, of dwelling units lacking such facilities as inside bathroom and central heat, of overcrowded residences owned by absentee landlords. These areas also have well-defined social characteristics: relatively few children in the population, a high sex ratio, proximity to red-light districts, high venereal disease rate, high schizophrenia rate. Thus, the areas are characterized by a high degree of social disorganization to which the unattached contribute after they have been there for awhile. They have two main advantages for the residents: 1. they tend to be near most of the places of work; 2. they tend to be near the centers of amusement, and have characteristic service institutions which especially cater to the needs of the unattached.

Most of the correlations mentioned have been or will be demonstrated for the West End. Probably every one could be. Similarly the "advantages" cited duplicate the reasons for residence stated to our canvassers. Whatever can be accomplished in reaching these people and rendering real service, accomplishing permanent improvement of their lot, will be pioneering achievement helpful in the work of our churches in every metropolitan area of the United States.

The statement of a desk clerk in one of the larger establishments for men deserves direct quotation. Asked by Mr. Bean if most of the tenants were married or single, his response was, "I couldn't say. There are some married I guess, some divorced, some running away from women and other things. I know a lot of them are married; but they live here alone anyway in single rooms so they are just the same as single, and they won't want to be molested." How well this expresses both the need of many of these folk for Christian ministry, and the difficulties of winning acceptance of that ministry! Their "running away" is often a retreat from themselves and from normal social fulfillment of their personal destiny. Here is a strange and unhealthy modern monasticism practiced in blind alleys in the crowded heart of our cities, sometimes by choice, sometimes by lack of any perceived alternative. What can our churches do for these lost and lonely sheep?

It may be well to close this section on a slightly more optimistic note. Our own student worker and many other explorers in this little-known area of city life have stressed the relative inaccessibility of rooming-house tenants, particularly those toward the upper reaches of the social and rental scales. The experience of our trained canvassers was in directly favorable contrast. Both reported that they received cordial cooperation from almost all landlords and tenants in every section of the West End. A cross-section sample yielded 355 successful interviews in less time than the average for single residences. This included residents even in the men's hotel from which the student was barred. There were many expressions of friendly interest in and real concern for more effective ministry to the rooming-house tenants. In the West End, at least, there are no great, certainly no insurmountable, barriers preventing access and service to the unattached population, granted an effective approach.

Economic Security

We now return to the basic data summarized in Table 5. We have seen on Map 16 the overall Boston pattern of economic security. Beacon Hill was among the most favorable neighborhoods, the West End Proper among the least favorable, and the Back of Beacon Hill had a fourth, i.e. next to last, ranking. These conclusions were based on five economic factors which were median rents, unemployment, aid to dependent children, dependent aid and old-age assistance.

Our own Map 22 showing economic security ranking by census tracts is not directly comparable with Map 16 because the 1944 data on the three types of aid to individuals has not been reduced to rates by census tracts. The unemployment and rental aspects of this composite have already been discussed in earlier sections. The relative favorability of the tracts in terms of economic security presents some contrast with the housing situation (Map 20) insofar as H1, H2 and H4 are concerned. H1 and H4 which had the least favorable housing have a somewhat improved economic security status. In the case of H4 this may be traceable, at least in part, to the heavy rooming-house concentration there. As we have seen that type of housing tends to be very poor even though the "unattached" tenants' ability to pay is higher on the average than that of family renters in the same general economic situation.

Home ownership is the wholly new factor introduced in the composite making up Map 22, and this may be visualized in isolation on Map 23. It is notable that no West End census tract attains the General Boston percentage of 20.9 owner-occupancy, and that all except Beacon Hill fall very far below the city average. The small part of H3 not occupied by institutions contains some of the most crowded slum tenements in Boston and the lowest proportion of home owners. The West End as a whole has only 7.8 per cent owner-occupancy, a rate lower than that in all but two Boston health and welfare areas. Of sixty-seven Boston neighborhoods Beacon Hill ranks fortieth in this regard, the Back of Beacon Hill fifty-ninth and the West End Proper sixty-second. The figures reflect both the fact that the average building is many storied and minutely subdivided and that many building owners have chosen to live outside the West End. The low percentage of home owners is not only an unfavorable index in terms of the security of the individual family, it is also unfavorable in terms of the upkeep and stability of the community itself. Absentee landlords and tenants without pride of possession are equally apt to contribute to the deterioration of the dwellings in the West End. Nine of every ten persons have no property tie to the community. Moving requires, at most, a brief notice to the landlord. Such a population is likely to be a rapidly changing, unstable one. It is unlikely to muster strong resistance to pressures from invading non-dwelling land uses. Development and maintenance of a sense of community, of morale and social responsibility, is extremely difficult.

Our own 5.01 per cent sample canvass of the West End gave direct evidence of relatively brief residential tenure. Whereas the average East Boston family had lived there 26.7 years and in the same house 9.9

years, the average residence in the West End was 10.1 years and 6.6 years at the same address. (4.) East Boston, in spite of its many disadvantages, has a community hold on its families almost three times as strong as has West End. This, of course, is a reflection of a common urban pattern of increasing mobility as one nears the center of the city. It is especially notable that in this one respect the "H" tracts, generally north of Cambridge Street were found to have substantially more stable residence than tracts F6, K1, and K2 south of Cambridge Street. Both the typical and the specially selected blocks on Beacon Hill showed an average West End residence between seven and eight years, whereas the H tract residence ranged from over eighteen years in H2 and H3 to ten years in H1. "Staid old Beacon Hill" has some long-term residents, but they are far outnumbered by relatively transient families.

Another surprising finding was that the Pinckney and Bulfinch Street rooming-house strips showed average residence as stable (over seven years) as family housing in the same tracts. Only the Hancock Street rooming houses reported average residence substantially shorter than that of the general neighborhood. There the typical residence was thirteen and a half years but the rooming-house average was four years and nine months.

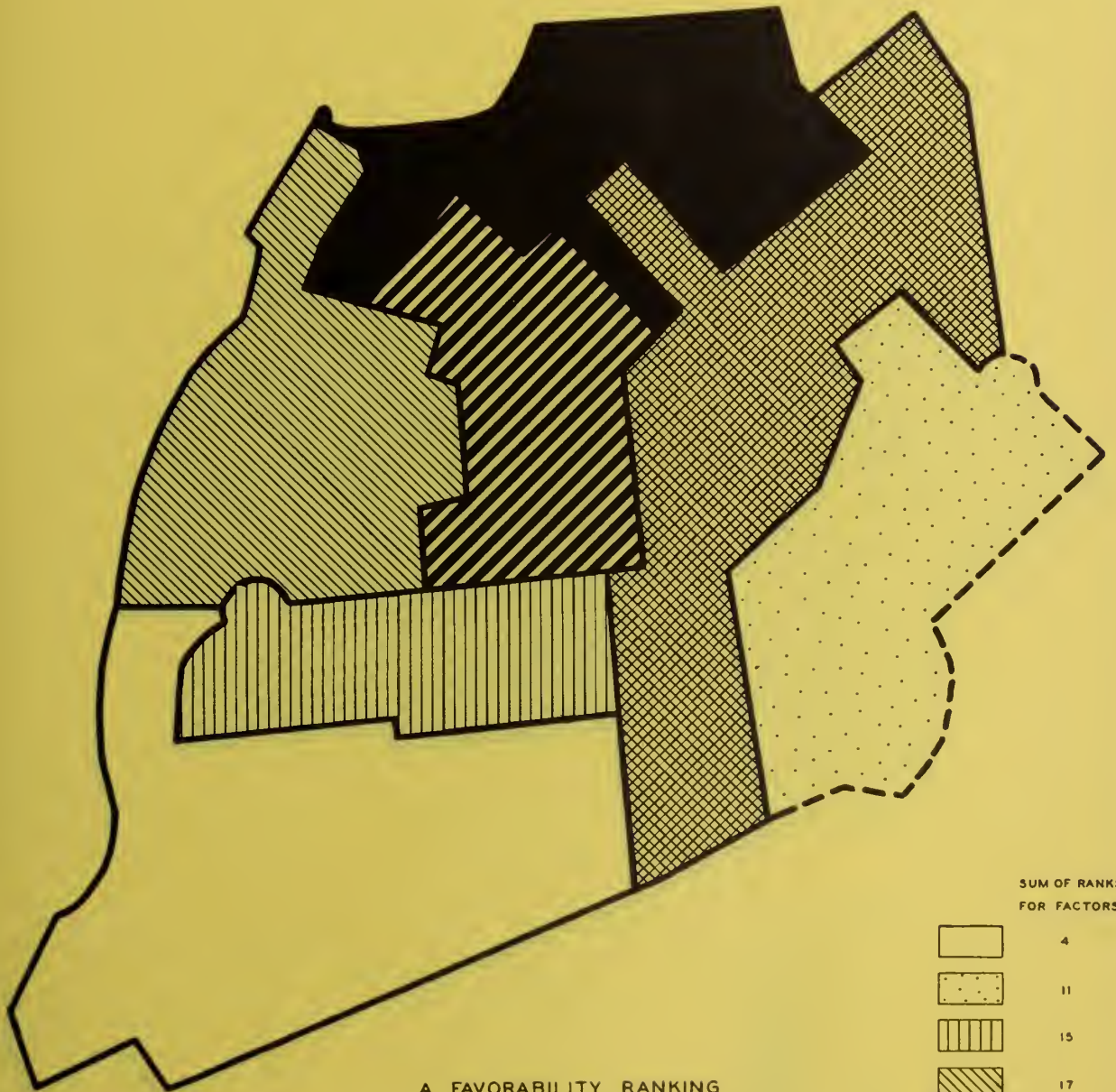
The block by block findings on median years of residence listed in Table 12A of the Appendix reinforce the evidence of West End transiency. While the "average" may be weighted by a few long-time residents, the "median," i.e. the particular time of residence of the family having an equal number of families with longer and shorter tenure, is in this case more revealing. No block had over half its residents with tenure at the same address seven years or more, and one of the regular blocks in F6 had a median tenure of just a year and a half. The Hancock Street rooming-house median was ten months. In other words half of the persons interviewed on that street had been there less than ten months.

The data on public aid is available for the West End on a neighborhood and a health and welfare area basis for the year 1944. It is included in Table 5. Following the usual pattern, the overall West End figures blur sharply divergent neighborhood situations. The West End Proper had a rate of dependent aid, aid to dependent children and old-age assistance far higher than the city average in each case, and ranked fifty-fifth, fiftieth and fiftieth among sixty-three Boston neighborhoods in the respective categories. The Back of Beacon Hill was forty-ninth in dependent aid, forty-third in old-age assistance but twenty-seventh, well below the city average, in aid to dependent children. Beacon Hill was tied for thirteenth in dependent aid, fourth in aid to dependent children, and had a lower rate of old-age assistance than any other neighborhood of Boston. The last fact is most striking. The large number of unattached elderly people on Beacon Hill are almost all self-supporting. Whatever their problems may be, they are not primarily problems of economic security.

4. For full block and tract data, see Table 12A in the Appendix.

MAP 22 -ECONOMIC SECURITY

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940



A FAVORABILITY RANKING FOR FOUR FACTORS

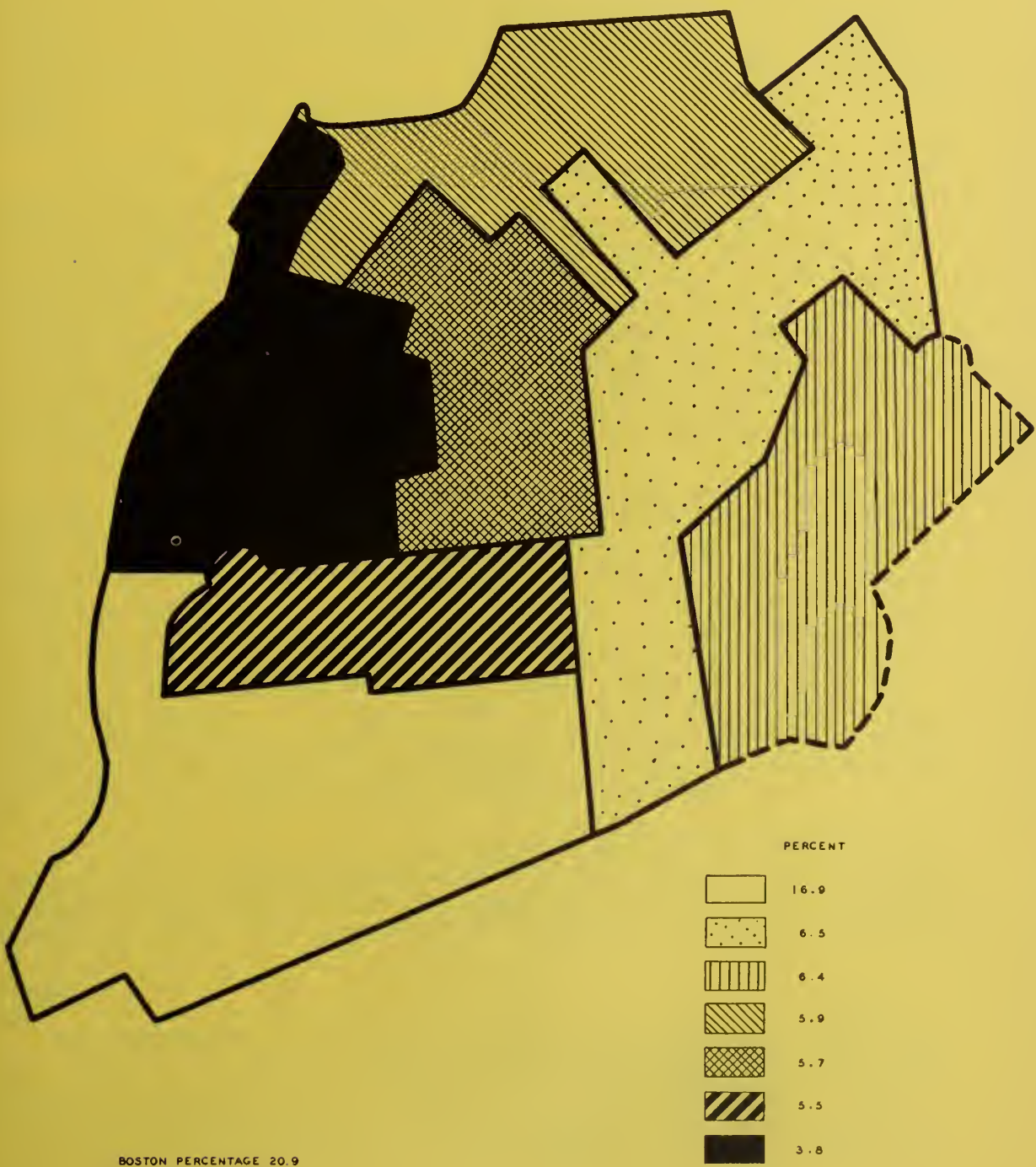
MEDIAN RENTS
PERCENT RENTS UNDER \$25
HOME OWNERSHIP
UNEMPLOYMENT

SUM OF RANKS
FOR FACTORS

	4
	11
	15
	17
	19
	21
	25

MAP 23 -PERCENTAGE OF OWNER-OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1940



BOSTON PERCENTAGE 20.9

Educational Achievement

The criteria, median school years completed and advance schooling, combined to chart educational achievement (Maps 24 and 17) are actually indexes of the education of the adult and younger generations. Both are compiled as a part of the federal census. Persons twenty-five years of age or over at the time of the 1940 census were asked to state the last complete year of school attendance, and the "median school years completed" figure was derived from the responses to this question. The proportion of "advanced schooling" was determined by the ratio of persons over fourteen attending school at the time of the census to the total population in the fifteen to twenty-one age bracket.

Here again, the West End averages, to be found in Table 5 and there shown to be slightly under the city-wide figures, have little real significance because they are arrived at by combining high and low extremes. On median school years completed, for example, Beacon Hill stands in a tie for first with an average of 12.5 years while the West End Proper is fifty-eighth with a 7.5 year average. The West End Proper has an even lower ranking, sixty-first, for the advance schooling of its younger generation. While the low educational achievement of the older generation in the West End Proper may be correlated with both the high proportion of foreign-born and with economic insecurity, the poor record of the younger generation would seem to stem almost entirely from economic causes.

Religious educators and ministers cannot afford to ignore the educational level of the people whom they seek to serve. Half the people over twenty-five years of age in tract H-2, for example, have had less than 5.3 years of elementary schooling. The especially poor showing of tract H-3 on Map 24 requires further analysis. It is largely due to an extremely low proportion of advanced schooling, 19.9 per cent as against a city average of 58.4 per cent. Several factors may help to explain this. The region has some of the worst family slums in the city, and these may house most of the young people from which this figure is derived. Furthermore, it houses some unskilled young Massachusetts General Hospital workers with limited school training. Local investigation and appropriate remedial action is certainly indicated.

On the other hand, high school and high school plus education is typical in the area south of Cambridge Street where most of our constituency lives. The likelihood of discovering effective leadership and developing a successful advanced program there is, therefore, much greater.

Health

The various factors usually considered in analyzing the health of the people of a community follow no consistent pattern in the West End. For the 1942-46 five-year span the West End ranked second only to Hyde Park in low rate of infant mortality, thirteenth in proportion of new cases of tuberculosis, twelfth in proportion of deaths from tuberculosis and tenth in age-adjusted death rate among fifteen health and welfare areas.

The infant mortality rate is relatively favorable in all the West End neighborhoods. Beacon Hill, Back of Beacon Hill and the West End Proper have rankings of tenth, twelfth and nineteenth respectively among sixty-four Boston neighborhoods in the 1942-46 five-year period. All neighborhoods and all census tracts have rates below the city average. This good record in contrast to the generally unfavorable social and economic situation prevailing in two out of three of the West End neighborhoods is a sociological paradox. It illustrates the necessity of taking nothing for granted in the course of a study such as this. The chief credit for this real achievement should probably be divided between the City Health Unit located on Blossom Street, the Massachusetts General and Vincent Memorial Hospitals, and the pre-natal classes of the Visiting Nurse Association.

The statistical evidence would indicate that the services of these local health resources have not been as effective in ministering to the adult population if tuberculosis incidence and deaths and the age-adjusted death rate are taken as criteria. While the proportion of new cases of tuberculosis has declined slightly from the 1936-40 rate, it remains substantially higher than the city average and is exceeded by that in only two health and welfare areas. The tuberculosis death record is even more ominous. It has jumped from 53.8 deaths per 100,000 population in 1936-40 to 75.5 in 1942-46. That this rise shares a city-wide trend is cold comfort!

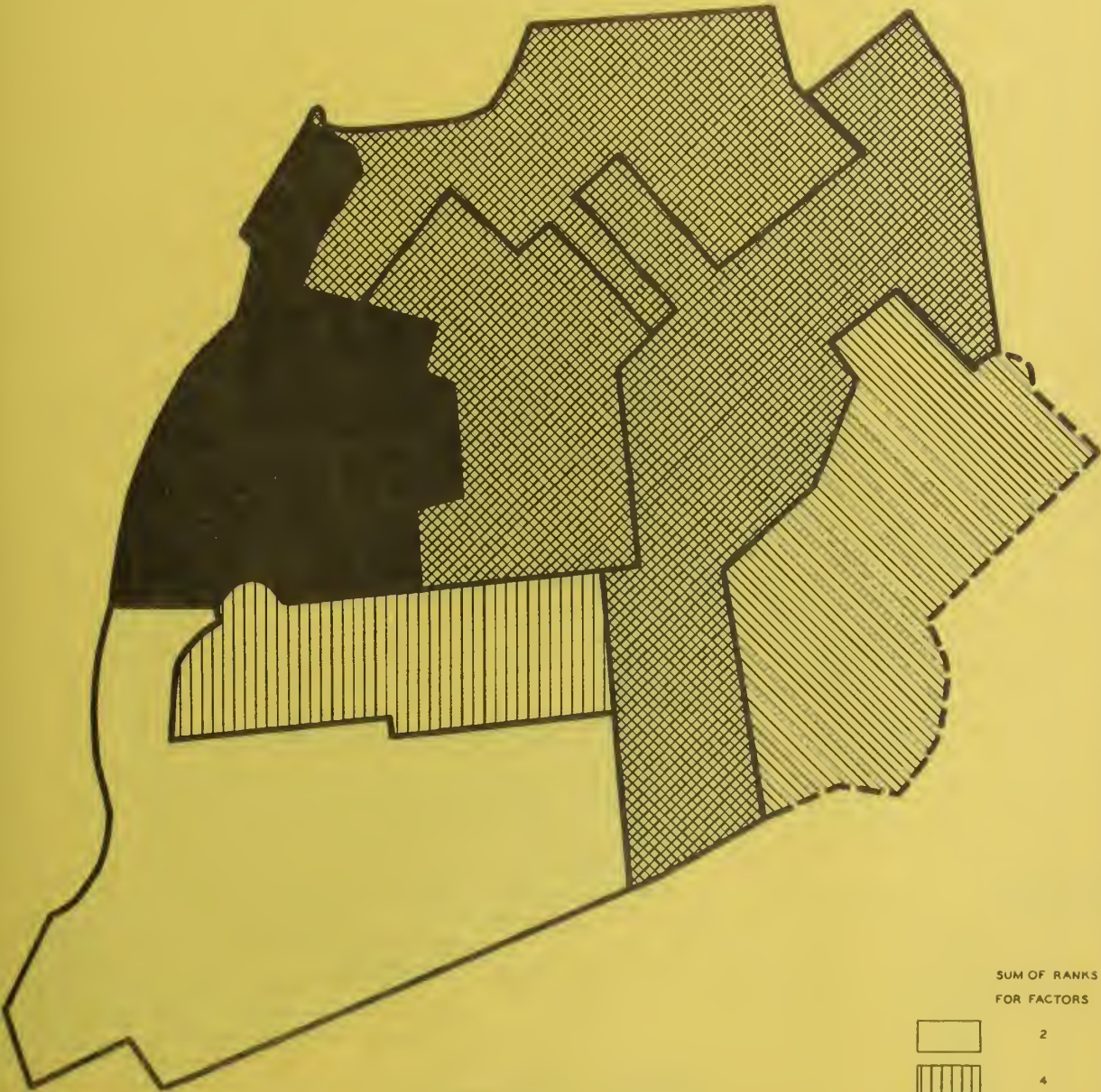
The 1943 figures for age-adjusted death rate were not available by census tracts and could not be included on Map 25. In this case the contrast between Beacon Hill, third most favorable among sixty-three neighborhoods, and the Back of Beacon Hill and the West End Proper, tied for fifty-second ranking, holds good. The likelihood of long life is much greater on Beacon Hill.

Map 25 showing the ranking of the census tracts for the other three health factors, although limited, is more revealing than the neighborhood figures and ranking to be found in Table 5. What stands out is the fact that K-1 on the Back of Beacon Hill has a better record on these three counts than does socially and economically favored Beacon Hill. Furthermore, slum-infested, most-crowded H-3 is healthier still! The proximity of the Massachusetts General Hospital and the West End Health Unit to these two tracts and the residence of many hospital workers to whom service is most readily available would seem to be at least a partial explanation. Equally striking is the poor health record of H-4, the rooming-house center, and H-1, the most heavily-populated tract. The serious situation in H-4 can hardly be exaggerated. It has an increasing infant mortality rate and the highest of any tract in the West End (34.9). The proportion of new cases of tuberculosis has risen from 199.8 in 1936-40 to 237.9 in 1942-46 (City 110.0). The proportion of tuberculosis deaths jumped even more drastically from 82.1 to 152.9 (City 61.7). The rooming houses are potential sources of physical as well as of social infection.

MAP 24 -EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

1940

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS

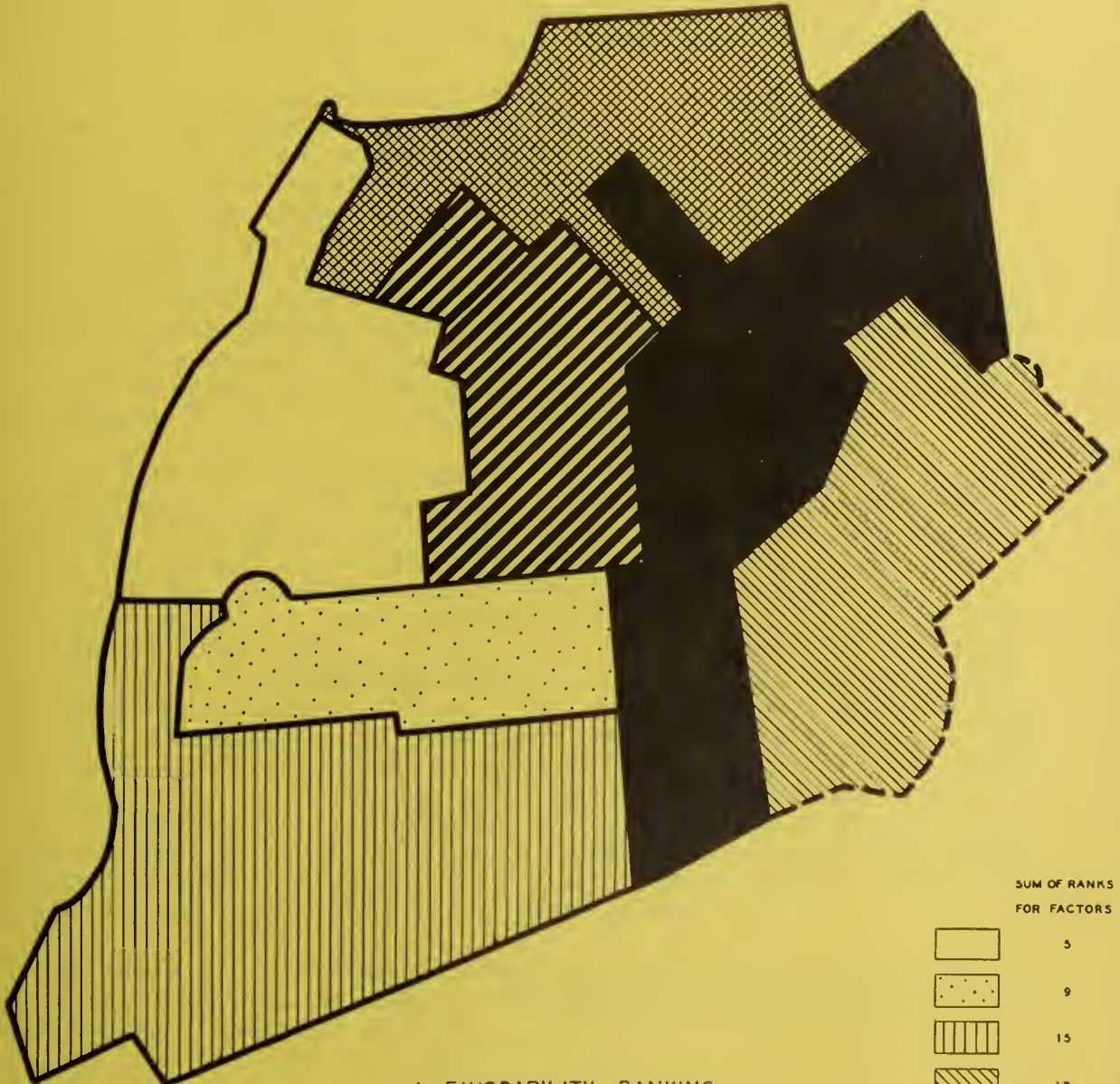


A FAVORABILITY RANKING
FOR TWO FACTORS
ADVANCED SCHOOLING
MEDIAN SCHOOL YEARS

SUM OF RANKS FOR FACTORS	
	2
	4
	9
	10
	11

MAP 25 -HEALTH

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1942-1946



A FAVORABILITY RANKING FOR THREE FACTORS

INFANT MORTALITY (50%)
TUBERCULOSIS NEW CASES (26%)
TUBERCULOSIS DEATHS (25%)

SUM OF RANKS
FOR FACTORS

	5
	9
	15
	18
	19
	20
	26

Juvenile Delinquency

The reason for singling out juvenile delinquency as an especially serious problem in the West End can be given in one sentence--every five-year average since 1936 has shown the West End to have the worst juvenile delinquency rate of any Boston health and welfare area. This conclusion is based on the annual report of the Office of the State Commissioner of Probation and the rates and rankings drawn from this source by the Community Studies Department of the Greater Boston Community Council.

One surprising by-product of student (5.) and staff investigation of the juvenile delinquency situation was the discovery that many social workers in the West End and even the office of Judge Connelly's Boston Juvenile Court were inclined to question the special seriousness of the problem in the West End. During the course of the study, the Assistant Director of the Department of Research and Strategy was invited to present our findings to an initially somewhat skeptical audience at a meeting of the West End Joint Planning Board. After extended questioning and discussion, those present were apparently convinced of the factual grounding of the Department's analysis. Since, however, their doubts reflect far wider community misapprehensions, it may be wise to state explicitly the character of the data from which our conclusions are drawn.

The Office of the State Commissioner of Probation maintains a record of all appearances of boys and girls from seven through sixteen years of age in all Massachusetts courts, together with their place of residence, the offense charged and the disposition of the case. It is upon these records and the population figures of the 1940 Federal census that the rates and rankings for tracts, neighborhoods and health and welfare areas are computed. One source of confusion is that the records of the Boston Juvenile Court's own docket are only a part of the statewide appearances, and the totals, of course, differ. It is true, also, that both the total and child population of some other Boston health and welfare areas is very much larger so that the number of court appearances for Roxbury or South End children may well be greater. The rate of juvenile delinquency is based, however, on the average annual number of appearances in court per 1,000 children, seven to sixteen years of age. The latest five-year computation for 1943-47 found the West End rate highest at 35.2, while Roxbury's 28.3 and the South End's 27.1 were not even close.

It should be noted that the records are based on the residence of the juvenile, not upon the place of the court appearance or the place of the offense. "Outsiders" visiting Scollay Square or other sections of

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5. The Rev. E. E. Brewster and the Rev. J. Heilbrun, graduate students in Boston University School of Theology, conducted a study of aspects of the juvenile delinquency and health situations in the West End. Their paper, from which some of the material in this section is drawn, is available in the files of the Department of Research and Strategy.

the West End and committing offenses have, therefore, no bearing on the West End rate.

Certain methodological objections may properly be considered here. A rate computed upon a very small population is subject to acute fluctuation on the basis of one or two cases, and this qualification should be remembered in the case of some of the less populous West End census tracts, particularly F-6. It does not, however, constitute a valid objection to rates computed for the West End as a whole with its 5,676 children under eighteen at the time of the 1940 census. The adequacy of the sample is further reinforced by the use of five-year rather than one-year figures, so that the erratic fluctuations occurring from year to year are compensated for and the longer term trends may be discerned. (6.)

Having laid this groundwork, let us consider the juvenile delinquency situation in the West End. Chart 19 pictures and contrasts the Boston and West End status in the latter half of the '30's and in the 1942-46 five-year span. West End juvenile delinquency is not only worse than it was in the pre-war, depression years, the rate in that area has risen very much more sharply than has the Boston average rate and is now more than twice as high. The Boston rate rose 1.8, a 12.7 per cent increase. The West End rate rose 8.0, a 28.8 per cent increase. The actual spread between the Boston and West End rates was 13.6 in 1936-40, 19.8 in 1942-46.

The rates by census tracts are given on Map 26. Only Beacon Hill escaped a juvenile delinquency rate higher than the city average. Tracts H-1, H-4 and F-6 have rates from more than twice to more than five times the comparable city rate. While the child population of F-6 is very small, H-4 had 994, and H-1 had 2,283 children under eighteen in 1940. There may also be some significance in the patterning to be seen on Map 26. The blackest center of delinquency seems to be the area bordering on downtown Scollay and Haymarket Squares, the problem lightening as one moves east and southeast.

As alarming as the recent high delinquency rate is the evidence of progressive deterioration in this respect in the West End. The West End Proper has had a static relative position among the neighborhoods of Boston--there were only two worse in 1936-40 and only three worse in 1942-46. The actual rate rose 4.8 in that period. The other two neighborhoods, however, reveal definite evidence of increasing social infection. The Back of Beacon Hill was thirty-seventh among fifty-eight Boston neighborhoods in 1936-40 with an about average rate of 14.9. For the

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- (6.) This index of juvenile delinquency does have some obvious flaws, as noted in our earlier East Boston study. Police practices and "out of court" practices may vary in different parts of the city, and one child may account for several court appearances. It remains the most valid index now available. No charge or evidence that any of the above variations was discriminatory against the West End was encountered in the course of the study.

CHART 19 -RATES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN BOSTON
AND THE WEST END



NUMERALS IN COLUMNS INDICATE AVERAGE
ANNUAL NUMBER OF APPEARANCES IN COURT
PER 1000 CHILDREN 7 TO 16 YEARS OF AGE.

1942-46 period it had dropped behind even the West End Proper and was sixty-second among sixty-four neighborhoods with a 37.7 rate. Beacon Hill was a favorable neighborhood in 1936-40 with a 4.2 rate and a tenth ranking among fifty-eight neighborhoods. By 1942-46 the rate had trebled to 15.5 and was more severe than that of thirty-five other neighborhoods. Preliminary figures for 1943-47 indicate that the West End Proper still ranked sixty-first, the Back of Beacon Hill had dropped a notch to sixty-third and Beacon Hill plunged nine places to forty-fourth. (7.)

The relatively fewer cases in the West End in 1946 (seventy-nine) and 1947 (sixty-seven) as compared to the recent high of 172 in 1943 have not altered the downward trend of the West End neighborhoods in relation to the rest of Boston, nor are two years sufficient to establish a trend or justify prediction. Certainly, none of the objective evidence gives ground for the complacency found to be quite widespread among responsible West End leaders.

The staff persistently sought the factual ground, if any, for this tendency to minimize the seriousness of West End juvenile delinquency. This search failed to uncover any modifying or minimizing circumstances. The one explicit argument encountered was that juvenile offenses in the West End tended to be comparatively minor as compared to those in other sections of the city. Innocuous misdeeds such as bicycling on the Esplanade were thought to account for a substantial part of the high totals. In order to test this hypothesis, the available records of charges brought against juveniles in the West End and in Boston as a whole were examined. Major offenses (8.) were specified as indicated in the left-hand corner of Chart 20, and all other offenses were classed as minor. Chart 20 shows the result of tabulation in accordance with these categories for 1934-37 and for 1946, the only years since 1934 for which data was available for both Boston and the West End. The necessary omission of the war years has the incidental advantage that these years were in many respects abnormal and unrepresentative.

The evidence would indicate that the proportion of major offenses in Boston as a whole is a fairly stable one, 53 per cent in the last known year of 1946, 69 per cent in the highest year of 1936, with some fluctuation within this narrow spread. On the other hand, the proportion of major offenses in the West End has risen steadily and quite sharply from

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7. The 1943-47 rates were 16.1 for Boston, 18.7 for Beacon Hill, 35.3 for the West End Proper and 41.8 for the Back of Beacon Hill. Only Lower Roxbury among sixty-four Boston neighborhoods had a higher rate (47.3) than the Back of Beacon Hill.
 8. The student investigator's classification of "runaway" as a major offense is open to legitimate question. Inasmuch, however, as "runaway" charges constituted 6.2 per cent of all Boston cases and only 1.8 per cent of West End cases in the years studied, the shifting of this type of charge to the minor category would only serve to reinforce the conclusions of this phase of the study.

28 per cent in 1934 to 64 per cent in 1946. The West End proportions for the other two non-war years, 1938 and 1939, (not shown on Chart 20 because comparable Boston data was not available) were 60 per cent in 1938 and 72 per cent in 1939. These added years seem to strengthen the general conclusion that the proportion of major offenses in the West End during recent years was at least equal to, if not greater than, the city proportion. It requires no comparison to emphasize the seriousness of from forty-eight to sixty-seven court appearances each year of children charged with the grave offenses listed on Chart 20.

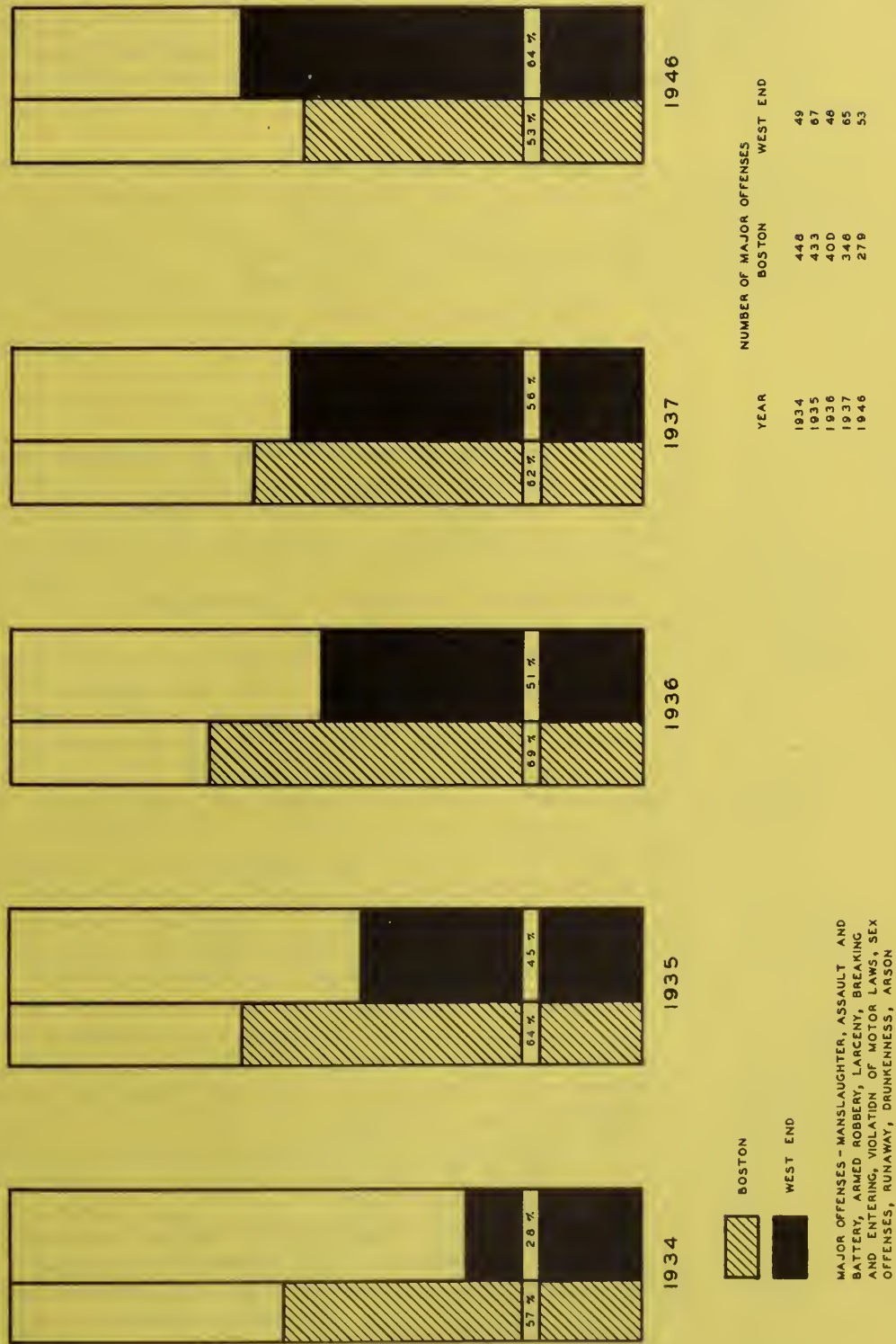
As many sociologists have pointed out, juvenile delinquency is not so much a measure of individual failure as an index of community deterioration and irresponsibility. An extract from Mr. Brewster's report of his interview with Judge Connelly of the Boston Juvenile Court deserves quotation:

The Judge made the further observation that although the North End is known to be a sociologically more unfavorable area than the West End, its record in juvenile delinquency is definitely better. He attributed this situation to the more closely knit, harmonious home life among the predominantly Italian population of the North End. With more transiency and rooming houses in the West End, that area has less real home life.

Present and potential resources for combatting juvenile delinquency will be considered in later portions of the study, but it is here pertinent to note one finding regarding the prevalent type of delinquency in the West End. The testimony of all West End leaders in intimate contact with the juvenile delinquents in the area is that there is not at present and has not been for some years any appreciable amount of "gang" delinquency among seven through sixteen-year-olds. Among these interviewed (9.) were Mr. Sands, the local probation officer attached to Judge Connelly's court, Patrolman Foley in charge of juvenile offenders coming to the attention of the Joy Street Police Station, Miss Ragolsky of Peabody House and Miss Goldstein of the West End Library, both of whom have long experience, "know everyone," and have a keen insight into community problems. Their testimony that gang crime and mischief, a real factor in the '30's, has practically vanished now can be taken as definitive. It follows that the very considerable delinquency still prevalent is the action of children acting alone, or at most, in pairs. The "in-group" children are not delinquent, at least as a consequence of group planning and action. It is predominantly the out-group, isolated individuals, the children that "cannot get along" with their fellows that fall into delinquency. This conclusion has a direct bearing on the adequacy of the wide variety of group

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9. These interviews, as well as later material on the store-front clubs, were secured by the Rev. Robert W. MacNeill, candidate for the S.T.B. degree at Boston University School of Theology. His exceptionally penetrating paper is available in the files of the Department of Research and Strategy.

CHART 20 -PERCENTAGE OF MAJOR OFFENSES AMONG ALL OFFENSES OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS IN BOSTON AND THE WEST END 1934 -1946



programs sponsored by church and other welfare institutions in the West End. It is both a tribute to their group effectiveness and a condemnation of their failure in work with individuals, particularly those who fail to fit any group pattern. The gregarious sheep seem to be doing well, but the lone wolves remain untamed and dangerous to themselves and to the whole community.

Another sidelight pertinent to our program planning is the fact that the only two references to gang delinquency were to specific depredations by groups of pre-school children. These infants have in the recent past broken into parking meters, "fished" parked automobiles, and engaged in serious property destruction. The many social resources of the West End have failed to prevent anti-social infection among many in the crucial "first six years."

Transiency

The previous sections of this chapter on rooming houses and economic security have dealt with aspects of a special West End problem. A very large part of the population is relatively transient. The West End is a temporary stopping place for a variety of personal and economic reasons. Each of these creates special problems of church ministry and opportunities for specialized church programming. There are the students, individuals and (now) G. I. couples, nursing and medical students connected with the hospitals, undergraduates seeking cheap and "independent" housing, graduate students in law, theology and almost every conceivable field. There are the downtown office workers, escaping home ties and moving in close to their work and to "the center of things." There are Bohemians seeking the anonymity and "freedom" of the central city. There are sailors "on the beach," migrant workers between seasons, a strong sprinkling of marginal workers, hoboes and alcoholics. There are men and women who have "run away from something." There are the ultra-transient city visitors who use the hotels located here. There are older persons whose next move will be beyond mundane concerns. As has been seen, there are whole blocks and streets in the West End where half the residents have tenancy of less than two years. The highly-mobile community tends to be a disorganized one, difficult and dangerous for the individual residents. There is a minimum sense of belonging, of support from or responsibility to the community. The individual person's need for Christian ministry, for guidance, shared experience, sympathy and love, will tend to be enormously greater in this environment. But the difficulties for our churches in rendering effective ministry are also proportionately increased. The conscious or unconscious motivation of many who have chosen residence here is a desire for escape from normal social ties. "They won't want to be molested." Certainly, our churches cannot expect any significant number of those most in need to come seeking ministry. We must go to them, and we must go prepared to give effective aid in complex problems of personal and social maladjustment. Amateur good will will not compensate in such cases for absent or inadequate technical training. The appraisal of the present work of our churches and the decisions as to our future course must be made in the light of the dominantly transient character of West End residence.

Older People

We have seen that according to the 1940 figures two of the seven West End census tracts (K-2 and F-6) had more residents over sixty-five years of age than they had children under eighteen. The extraordinarily large group of older persons is another special challenge of the West End situation. Many of these folk share other West End special problems, such as unattachedness, rooming house life, transiency, but the impact of these and other difficulties upon older persons is especially severe.

The West End presents an extreme example of a situation that is increasingly prevalent throughout the country and to which the social scientists are just beginning to turn their attention. Unlike the poor, the aged have not always been with us. A large sector of older persons in the total population is a modern novelty. It has been a comparatively little-noticed by-product of our developing culture, of our falling birth rate and the prolongation of life expectancy. In the America of 1800 the average duration of life was little more than it was in the days of Julius Caesar, about thirty-five years. By 1850 it had risen to slightly more than forty years, by 1900 nearly to fifty. It was more than sixty-three years by 1940. The 1949 estimate of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company is that the average life expectancy for the American white population is sixty-six years, with an average length of life for women of 69.5 and for men of 64.5 years. This average is dependent, of course, upon an expectancy that a very large number of persons will live many years longer.

The Bureau of the Census declared that the population sixty-five years of age and over was 4.1 per cent of the total in 1900 and 6.7 per cent in 1940, and estimates that it will have reached 13.2 per cent by the year 2,000. The actual number of persons in that age group is expected to more than double. It is little wonder, then, that "geriatrics", the medical science of treatment for the aged, is a new and rapidly developing field. In 1945 the Gerontological Society was formed in this country and now publishes a quarterly journal concerned with psychological and sociological as well as the special medical problems of older persons.

Our churches have only begun to react positively to this new challenge. It remains a pioneering frontier with few trails or guideposts. The central-urban community that can develop a genuinely successful outreach to its elder citizens will make a significant contribution to church ministry in every American city. Two recent studies do provide very real help in preparing for such an undertaking. David Barry of the New York "Pathfinding Service for the Churches" wrote a 1948 study of The Protestant Churches and the Aged in New York City which packs a great deal of directly-relevant fact and counsel in brief compass. Older People and the Church (Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1949) by Paul B. Haves and J. Lennart Cedarleaf is the excellent report of a two-year study under the direction of the Federal Council's Department of Pastoral Services. Much of the content of this brief section is drawn from these two sources. Both would be indispensable aids to a church undertaking a major project in this field.

David Barry points out that the problems of the aged are intensified and multiplied by their contemporary culture:

Historians and anthropologists have frequently pointed out that one of the distinguishing characteristics of the twentieth-century American culture has been its exaggerated preoccupation with youth and all things youthful. Our dress, manners, and customs, more particularly our movies, popular literature and popular music have focussed attention on the ages from approximately 15 to 35 as the significant years of life, with the implication that the years that follow are merely anticlimax.

The corollary of this has been the neglect of the age groups who are obviously beyond participation in the manners and activities of youth. The needs of the aged in recreation, in education, in use of their increased leisure, in making efficient use of dwindling incomes, in living alone after the death of a lifetime partner in marriage--all these have tended to be overlooked by agencies working in social and economic welfare. Probably the most basic problem has been the tendency in the American economy to assume that not only the aged worker, but even the worker past fifty, is beyond his period of maximum usefulness and should if possible be replaced by a younger man. The depression years saw the tragedy repeated countless times of a healthy and experienced man in his fifties or sixties being laid off and condemned to years of idleness, with consequent physical and mental deterioration and premature aging. The man past fifty and especially the man past sixty, whether minister of mechanic, has faced an uncertain future when he has fallen into the category of a job-seeker.

In many periods of history and perhaps in most cultures, the role of the aged has had the connotations of wisdom, authority, and veneration. In modern America age is much more likely to imply uselessness, dependence, and neglect. This is particularly true of the large cities. In the farm economy there was always a place for the elderly member of the family and always useful work to keep him occupied. In the crowded and hurried apartment-house life of New York City, however, elderly persons, especially when infirm, tend to be looked on only as burdens and responsibilities.

There is a sociological "vicious circle" in the relation of our general society to its older persons. The persistent common misconceptions as to the capabilities and character of the aged tend to push many of them into an unwanted, unnecessary and socially wasteful role. Society decides that older persons are incapable of useful work and removes them first from its payrolls and then from its lists of desired volunteers. "The older person becomes unemployable because he is unemployed rather than vice versa." The cumulative evidence that he is not expected or desired to fill any useful social role creates in the individual a sense of failure and frustration that eventually can destroy the possibility of accom-

plishment. "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Yet the enormous waste involved in this "shelving" of our more mature citizens was demonstrated conclusively during the war years. "Over-age" workers proved themselves. "Not only did their output compare favorably with that of younger workers, but they were definitely superior in certain significant characteristics such as reliability (as shown in lower absenteeism) and carefulness (lower accident rate)."

Misunderstanding, too, is reflected in two related popular beliefs. One is that older persons are incapable of learning, that "you can't teach an old dog new tricks." The other fallacy is that older persons are necessarily "set in their ways" and reactionary in their viewpoints. Scientific study indicates that, on the average, the ability to learn reaches a peak at about twenty years of age and then declines very slowly so that the average man of eighty is as capable of learning as the average boy of twelve. This, like most averages, is based on wide variations. Some of the greatest contributions to culture have been made by men and women of mature years. The learning capacity is not exhausted by consistent use, it tends to flourish and grow under this treatment. Similarly, older people are at least as various in their attitude to change as any other age group. "Elderly people are individuals, often more emphatically so than younger people, because individuality has had longer to develop." The basic conclusion of Maves and Cedarleaf is that "later maturity usually consolidates and brings into the open those patterns of personality which always have been central though not necessarily obvious."

Even those who concede that mind and spirit need not necessarily be "degenerated" by old age are apt to assume that physical disease, chronic illness, is a natural consequence of old age. This, too, is a fallacy. The majority of persons over sixty are not sick, and many of those who are could be restored to health if their specific illness were given proper medical attention. Too often this is neglected on the assumption of relatives, social workers and even doctors that potentially curable disease is the "expected" senile deterioration. In point of fact advanced age is in itself evidence of relatively superior resistance to disease.

Equally fallacious is the equation of old age and "second childhood." Strictly, actual impairment of mental capacity resultant from degeneration or atrophy of brain or nerve cells is a disease consequent upon specific and usually preventable circumstances. Such a disease is not restricted to or "natural" in any age group. More loosely "second childhood" is used to describe many things. Some persons never succeed in growing up, and are actually childish at every age level. Others develop neurotic patterns in defense against personal and social problems that they feel themselves incapable of meeting in any other way. Many younger persons are narrowly conformist and brand the sharp individuation, the comparative disregard by many older persons for the contemporary mores, as "queer." Deviation is not necessarily neurotic or harmful. "A person's adjustment should be evaluated on the basis of his capacity to enjoy living and to make a contribution to the life of his fellow men. An insistence on uniformity is the mark of the inexperienced or the insecure."

Perhaps the most dangerous generalized misconception about older people is that they want to be relieved of all responsibility and made comfortable. The kernel of truth here is that most older persons, like most persons of every age, desire emotional and economic security, but these objectives are seldom attained through a monotonous routine without risks or obligations. Our churches should ponder the warning of Paul Maves that to wrap older persons "in cotton and smother them in kindness may be a distinct disservice." People of all ages need the stimulation of responsibility, of change, of unpredictability. Failure to live up to the limits of capacity result in shrinking capacity.

With the qualification necessary to all generalizations, let us attempt to put the matter positively. The typical older person desires to be respected and granted a useful role as a person without the qualifying--and, as used, damning--label of "old." They dread being "put on the shelf" even if that shelf be softly upholstered. A positive program should aim at developing skills, personality and confidence so that our older citizens can live productive, creative and happy lives. David Barry concludes that "what they need more than anything else is acceptance in and a chance to contribute to normal group life; not only is their physical and mental health best assured thereby, but they are most effective and useful as church members." The Maves and Cedarleaf study makes a four-point summary of the basic needs of older people:

1. Understanding-love, and a secure social relatedness.
2. A sense of worth and meaningfulness, of being useful.
3. The stimulation of new experience, adventure, and a certain amount of conflict.
4. Economic and social security, particularly the knowledge that they will be cared for in case of sickness or emergency.

Real help to the older people of the West End by our churches would not be charity to the helpless. Most of the older people sitting in their one-room "homes" in the rooming houses of the area have been unnecessarily resigned to infirmity or incapacity. Dr. Harry A. Levine, who directs the program for the aged of New York city's Department of Welfare accurately describes the parallel situation as a "waste of personality":

Here were people with skills, community knowledge and understanding, and wisdom that only years could give, and society desperately in need of these assets and of their leisure time to help with community programs and planning, instead of utilizing this tremendous human resource was actually turning it into a liability. The truth is, too often, that the older person has been thoughtlessly rejected as too old to do any useful work, to learn, or to participate in the life around him, and that these experiences have helped to destroy his confidence, alertness and abilities. The need for activity that will give him a feeling of adequacy and accomplishment, of usefulness and belonging; the need for companionship, recreation and understanding; those things that tend to preserve the personality

have been given very little consideration.

Both the Barry and the Maves and Cedarleaf studies offer many practical suggestions for a creative relating of the church program to the older persons of the community. Those who are considering specialization in this field are referred to these authorities for detailed and very helpful material. Space requirements here preclude more than a brief mention of some salient points. The basic thesis of Older People and the Church is that "Group work and pastoral work are integral parts of the same process, involving similar principles and relationships and supplementing each other." It follows that a common staff for these two related services is highly desirable.

The New York City experience, particularly that at Broadway Tabernacle and Fort George Presbyterian Church where centers for the aged have been in operation for some time, is valuable. "Not every church can or should establish a center, of course, but within the various local communities it might be agreed that designated churches might specialize in group activities for the aged." This would seem to be the desirable pattern for the West End, designation of one of the churches to assume major responsibility for this work and a concentration of specially-trained staff and other resources there. Such a church, in view of the concentration of the unattached aged on the two sides of Beacon Hill, ought certainly to have its location on the Hill and at a physically and socially accessible site for older persons. Facilities should be planned with a view to eliminating stair climbing or, at least, reducing it to a minimum. The need of full, specialized staff training is emphasized throughout both studies. Effective ministry to the older people of the whole community is not a job for well-meaning amateurs. At every step--home visitation, pastoral counseling, individual therapy through guided group work--special knowledge and ability are necessary. Barry's outline of the task of reaching the aged is illustrative. He points out that little response can be expected to a program merely because it is well advertized or even because direct invitations have been given by mail. Building center attendance will "require personal visitation and invitation, often several times repeated, by someone who understands their individual difficulties and needs." What is involved is the historic Protestant technique of personal evangelism through home visitation but with this difference:

For this work, however, the churches must have workers who are properly trained and equipped. The visitor must be prepared to bring material help in some cases, and must certainly be able to bring spiritual help. But most important of all, the visitor must be someone who has studied and understands the particular emotional needs common among the aged, who knows the resources of the city and the community, who is equipped to make proper use of the social agencies--who, in brief, is competent in both psychiatric social work and the pastoral ministry. The job of pastoral visitor, properly conceived, has tremendous possibilities.

Some sentence suggestions: "Speaking generally older people need some opportunity to participate with persons of all age groups, and some chance to develop association with one another." "The tendency in most churches seems to be to have separate groups for each sex. In contrast, the experience of clubs and centers for older people shows much value in mixed groups." Groupings should be built on interest, not on age or sex. "The great majority of the aged have very small incomes--The church which expects to attract many old people should do very careful planning to relieve them from financial embarrassment." "Elderly people often feel that they cannot attend meetings that take place at night."

Schools

The West End has one intermediate and three elementary public schools and one parochial school connected with St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church. These are named and located on Map 27. All are clustered close to the population center. The parochial school conducts classes for the first eight grades, thus overlapping two of the three intermediate years of the public school curriculum. The Blackstone Intermediate School also conducts Tuesday and Thursday evening elementary classes for persons over compulsory school age. Dressmaking and knitting courses are also given when there is sufficient demand.

The steady and very substantial decline in public school enrollment throughout the past sixteen years may be traced by examination of Table 6. The elementary school enrollment has been almost stable since 1944, but the intermediate school enrollment has declined 28.6 per cent in the same five-year period. The decline of the child population of the West End already noted in an earlier section (it was 24 per cent from 1930 to 1940) is only a partial explanation of the drop in enrollment in the public schools. Another factor is the competition of the parochial school. As shown on Chart 21 the real number of parochial school children was almost the same in 1947 as in 1940 whereas there were 852 less public school children in 1947 than in 1940. The parochial percentage of the total elementary and intermediate enrollment therefore increased from 22 to 31 per cent in that period. The latest figures given in The Official Catholic Directory show an actual increase of St. Joseph's pupils to 734 in 1948, nearly 33 per cent of that year's enrollment.

In view of the city requirement that children attend school until they have reached sixteen years of age and until they have completed the eighth grade, the disproportionate decline in intermediate students indicated in Table 6 raises a question which merits further investigation. Causal possibilities may include such factors as exodus from the community, enrollment in the Catholic high school or a high truancy rate.

A major community handicap is the fact that the West End has no high school within or even close to its boundaries. Those West End young people who decide to attend high school still attend the English High School and the Girls' High School as they did when these institutions were launched in the West End in the first half of the nineteenth century. Both schools, however, have long since moved from the West End to another

TABLE 6

Public School Enrollment, 1933-1948

Source: Annual Statistics, School Committee

Year	West End			Boston Total All Schools
	Elementary Schools	Intermediate	Total	
1933	2,396	933	3,329	137,521
1934	2,207	900	3,107	135,075
1935	2,166	833	2,999	134,553
1936	2,020	816	2,836	132,824
1937	1,903	774	2,677	131,635
1938	1,720	735	2,455	127,005
1939	1,664	695	2,359	123,924
1940	1,626	689	2,315	120,447
1941	1,490	634	2,124	113,734
1942	1,407	612	2,019	107,688
1943	1,246	569	1,815	101,320
1944	1,163	545	1,708	99,311
1945	1,099	476	1,575	96,024
1946	1,103	441	1,544	95,754
1947	1,073	390	1,463	93,371
1948	1,123	389	1,512	93,099

Decrease in Total Enrollment

Boston	1933-48	32.3 %
West End	1933-48	
	Elementary	53.1 %
	Intermediate	58.3 %
	Total	54.6 %

MAP 27 -PUBLIC AND PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1948



section of the city. The English High School is now located on Montgomery Street off Tremont, and the Girls' High School is now on Newton Street between Tremont Street and Shawmut Avenue. Both are in the South End of Boston, about a twenty-minute trip by subway and surface street car--across the heart of downtown Boston. West End (and North End) children attending high school must, therefore, traverse the downtown district by street car or on foot twice a day. The distance, time and carfare involved are probably for many the "last straw" which added to family economic demands leads to non-attendance or early withdrawal from high school. The Blackstone Intermediate School officials claim only "a majority" of their graduates go on to high school. The daily trips through the business and entertainment center may also have a bearing on the high juvenile delinquency rate for West End minors.

The subject of the public schools did not arise in the meetings of the West End Study Committee. The staff inference is that the local public schools are not conspicuously better or worse than the Boston average. The Boston standard is, however, low. The exhaustive 1944 study and report by Dr. George D. Strayer and thirty other eminent educators was caustic in its criticism of the outdated plant and methods of the Boston school system. It offered detailed recommendations for improvement, very few of which have become effective five years later. Inertia, political considerations and outworn traditions are still dominant. Whatever collective efforts the West End churches might make to support more powerful groups concerned with the improvement of Boston's public schools would be enlightened self-interest as well as sound Christian citizenship. Closer cooperation with teachers and school officials desiring the same ends, especially those in West End schools, would undoubtedly be helpful to all concerned. The issue of healthy public education is one of the most vital and urgently pressing ones in the Boston situation.

The inadequacy of the public school system seems to be at least partial explanation for the local popularity of the Brimmer-May private school at the corner of Brimmer and Chestnut Streets on Beacon Hill. About eighty of the 180 nursery-to-twelfth-year students are drawn from the more prosperous families in the immediate neighborhood.

Recreational and Welfare Resources

1. Outdoor Recreation.

By contrast with our earlier East Boston study, the physical facilities for outdoor recreation are reasonably adequate, and relatively little concern was expressed by the study committee or the residents canvassed on this score. The subject which commanded many pages of East Boston can be dealt with, therefore, quite briefly.

The small total area of the West End and its bordering on the west by the Charles River Embankment and on the south by the Boston Common make recreational space available to almost all older children and adults. The existing parks, playgrounds and schoolyards are shown on Map 28. There are actually two adjacent sections of the Lomasney Playground, one reserved for juniors, six to eleven years of age, and the other for seniors,

twelve to fifteen years of age. The actual area of many of these potential play places is very small in relation to accepted standards. For example, the "City Playground" (the old Bowdoin schoolyard) has an acreage of just .17, the Winchell schoolyard .27, the Peter Faneuil schoolyard .42. The Charlesbank playground, by contrast, has an acceptable acreage of 15.50, and the Boston Common has 3.50 acres reserved for playground use.

An additional factor making brief treatment of outdoor recreation possible is the issuance of a comprehensive report by the Boston City Planning Board in late 1948 on Children's Playgrounds in Boston. Their conclusions as to the West End are sufficiently brief for full quotation:

The West End, like the North End, is a small, densely-populated section served by one or two large, peripheral playgrounds and several scattered small play areas in the interior. This leaves the district well-served in theory, but in practice a more balanced distribution of playground space would be far more satisfactory.

At the present time, vacant land suitable for conversion to playground use does not exist in the West End. Hence, proper distribution of play space must probably await a redevelopment of the district, if, indeed, its future status is to remain a residential one.

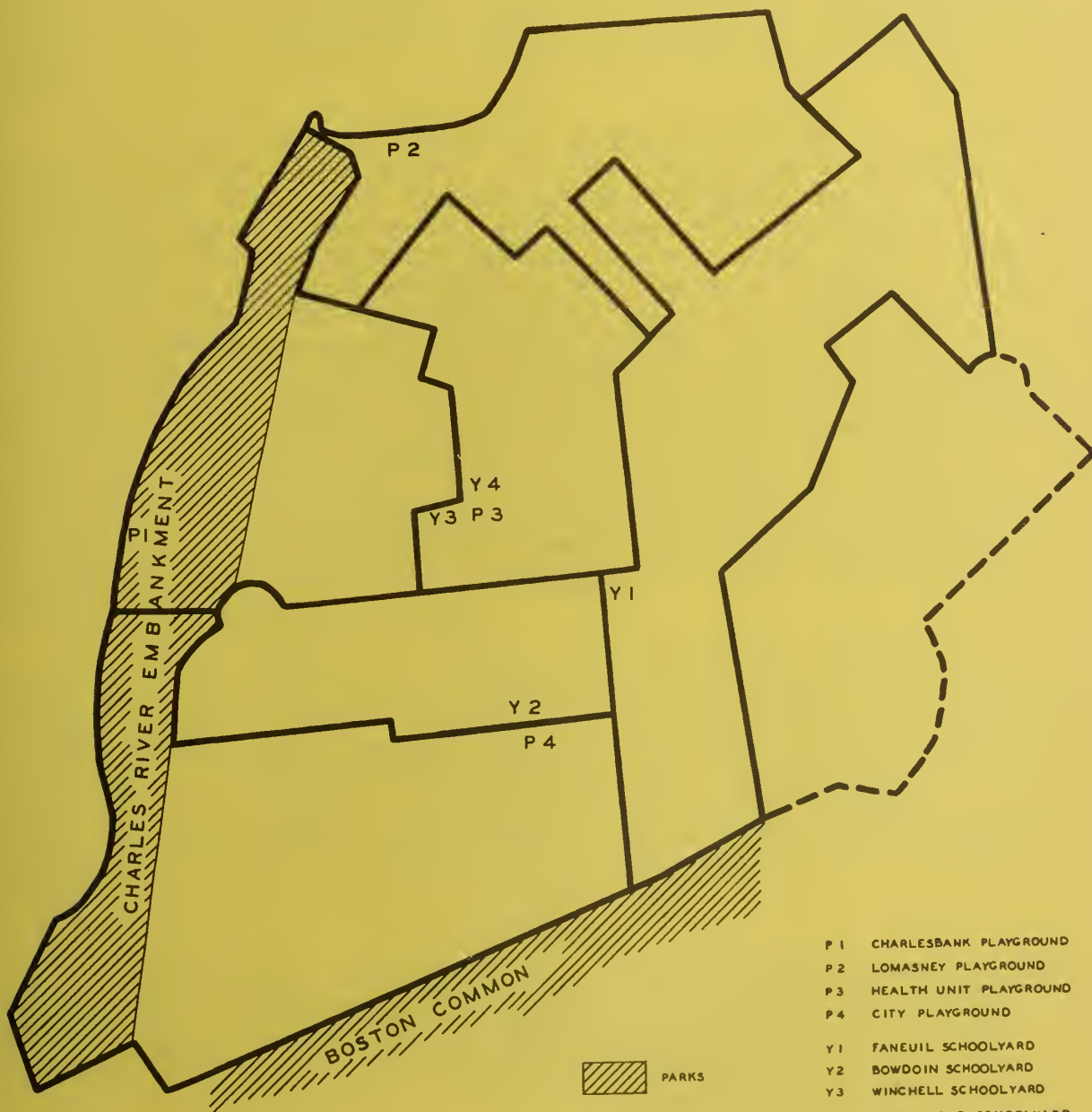
On the basis of allowing each junior living within one-quarter of a mile of a playground sixty square feet, and each senior within five-twelfths of a mile 150 square feet, the City Planning Board study concludes that all West End seniors are adequately served, and all but 170 juniors are adequately served. Actually, on the basis of this allocation of space per child the actual available acreage is more than twice the recommended allocation.

The City Planning Board Chairman, Thomas F. McDonough, stresses the limitation of their study to an "area and space viewpoint only." That, as every West End and most Boston residents know, is the rub. The most serious short-comings of the outdoor recreation situation are not ones of allocated space. Boston playgrounds have suffered greatly from a history of often divided, frequently changing, control. Recently there has been an almost yearly shift from School Department to Park Department to School Department supervision of major sections of the outdoor recreation program. For this and other reasons many potentially available playgrounds are locked up during theoretically "open" hours. This has been observed many times on fine sunny days in the West End. Supervision is usually totally absent and almost always inadequate. Play facilities are scant and battered, play materials seldom available unless the children themselves supply them.

Our churches, together with other community organizations concerned, can render a real service by seeking the progressive improvement of the supervision and available facilities for West End play areas. The major

MAP 28 - PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS AND SCHOOLYARDS

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1948



lack in the West End provisions for public play space is the almost total lack of "tot-lots" for children under six years of age. The Planning Board study would seem to imply that these "sub-juniors" have no place in the playground pattern at all. The correlation between this neglect and the nursery-school-age delinquents of the West End is obvious. If the city cannot be brought to assume at least a part of this responsibility, associations of block residents might undertake the utilization of any available space for supervised tot-lot use. The comparatively small play space needed for children under six makes this feasible, and supervision might be planned cooperatively by the families concerned. At present there is unplanned demolition in some sections making lots potentially available (10.).

The future prospect is for reduced rather than expanded space for outdoor relaxation and recreation. The plan now approved by the State legislature to build a major express highway along Embankment Road and then through the embankment park itself parallel to Beacon Street will probably make the parkland and playground less accessible, sharply reduce the available area, and destroy much of its present suitability and charm. The promise of additional playground facilities on the Charlesbank, including a swimming pool, to be constructed by the Metropolitan District Commission is scarcely adequate compensation for the serious damage to the best available local "green" area of surcease from central-city crowding, buildings, dust and debris. The record is that such promises are at best long-deferred in their fulfillment (as witness East Boston), while the invasion of present facilities is prompt and devastating. It is also a fact that need for the construction of a swimming pool and other outdoor recreation facilities has long been admitted, and the property promised by city and George Robert White Fund authorities without the penalty that has now been tacked on.

The silver lining on this cloud was the widespread and vigorous "grass roots" opposition aroused among West End residents. Clearly, there remain resources of community concern that give a potential for constructive cooperative action far beyond the pessimistic estimates of many local leaders. An aggressive strategy based on real community needs can recruit, develop and channel this community concern. The question of whether the West End is to survive as a habitable residential area will probably be decided by whether or not such a strategy and adequate leadership are developed.

2. Social Centers.

There are at least seven enterprises in the West End operating as social centers for recreational and welfare purposes. Table 7 lists them and summarizes certain comparable information for each. Their locations are shown on Map 29. Three of these centers are directly related to

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10. The Boston Herald for December 4, 1949, reports a concerted drive by West End people and organizations to clean and convert eleven such lots for playground use.

TABLE 7

West End Social Centers

Name (Census Tract & Financing)	No. of Staff, full & part-time, volun- teers (Staff Head)	Type of Building (No. of Activity Rooms)	(Daily Attendance) #Annual Unduplicated Count#	Sex (Age Distribution)	Religious Affiliation of Members
Blackstone School Center (H-1, City)	9P-Wed, Fri 7-10 pm	Intermediate School (27* & assembly)	(125) #Not Kept#	Both (8 to 80)	—
Burroughs Newsboy's Foundation (F-6, Community Ches)	10F & P, 70V (Mr. Fielding)	Built as Institutional Church (5 & Aud. & Gym)	(200) #1500#	Boys' (8-16) "Street Traders"	—
Elizabeth Peabody House (H-2, Community Ches)	4F, 18P, 250V (Miss Dale)	Built as Social Center, 1911 (12 & Theater, Gym)	(350) #1700#	Both (All ages, most 5-14)	—
West End House (H-1, Private)	1F, 11P & V (Mr. Burns)	Built as Boys' Center, 1912 (9 & Gym)	(300) #2700#	Boys' (10 and over)	88% R.C. 2% Prot. 8% Jewish
Beacon Hill Community Center (H-4, Methodist)	4P & V (limited schedule) (Dr. Stroud)	Former hotel Methodist Church (4-5 used now)	#221#	Both (All ages, most under 15)	"Most Protestant"
Heath Christian Center (H-1, Baptist)	4F, 5P, 30V (The Rev. Cestaro)	Former St. Andrew's Church (10 & Gym, Chapel)	(105) #307#	Both (All ages, most under 15)	81% R.C. 3% Prot.
Parker Memorial (F-6, Unitarian)	2F, 5P, V (The Rev. Klein)	Institutional Church, 1869 (9, Gym & Chapel)	(80-100) #325#	Both (6-12 & older women)	53% R.C. 9% Prot. 35% Unknown

* Available, limited use

MAP 29 - NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL CENTERS

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1948



1. BEACON HILL COMMUNITY HOUSE
2. HEATH CHRISTIAN CENTER
3. PARKER MEMORIAL (BULFINCH)
4. BOSTON MUSIC SCHOOL
5. BURROUGHS NEWSBOYS' FOUNDATION
6. ELIZABETH PEABODY HOUSE
7. WEST END HOUSE
8. BLACKSTONE SCHOOL CENTER
9. SALVATION ARMY DAY NURSERY
10. SUNNYSIDE DAY NURSERY
11. COMMUNITY SAILING CLUB

churches cooperating in the present study, and their work constitutes an important part of the total program of our West End churches. They will be considered in this context in the next chapter but they are included in the table so that an outline view and comparison of total resources may be had.

The initial striking fact is the very considerable number of "settlement" projects in view of the size of the area and of the total and child population. By contrast, East Boston with an at least comparable pattern of social and economic disadvantage has five settlement houses for a total population almost twice as large and a child population nearly four times as numerous. The West End has seven centers and, additionally, such other services as two nursery schools, the Boston Music School, the Community Sailing Club and minor week-day programs.

The second striking over-all conclusion is that every general center serves the 5-14 age group either predominantly or exclusively. All those over fourteen years of age are comparatively neglected.

Both past and contemporary surveys have noted the relatively large concentration of social centers in the West End and the overlapping character of their programs and clientele. Most relevant is, of course, the Greater Boston Community Survey sponsored by a widely representative committee of citizens and published in February of 1949. In essence the survey staff recommendation was for "merging and consolidating" recreational and group work service in the North and West Ends "treating the two areas as one" because of small geographical size and population similarity. The Executive Committee of the survey dissented in insisting that the West and North Ends be considered as separate areas, but agreed on the desirability of "merging and consolidation into one agency"... "in each such area."

This is not the place for a general analysis of the promises and conclusions of this survey as a whole. It will undoubtedly have wide influence in reshaping the thinking of the community and the community agencies on their services. Agencies wholly or largely financed by the Community Chest will be profoundly affected. The giving of many substantial donors to non-Chest agencies is likely to be guided by its recommendations. We are, here, primarily concerned with its probable consequences for the West End. Among these the most immediate would seem to be the strengthening of the already strong position of the Peabody House as the leader in this type of service to the community. The recommendations for substantial withdrawal of Chest support of the Burroughs Newsboy's Foundation and of the Boston Music School are unlikely to be successfully opposed. The basic recommendations for a planned and integrated program of social service coordinated for the most effective and economical meeting of the total community needs is one that should stimulate and strengthen the existing cooperative machinery in the West End. Our own churches and agencies in the West End were ignored in this theoretically comprehensive survey of "social services." They should, nevertheless, think through and then seek to establish their most con-

structive possible relation to the total pattern on a local scale, just as all our churches and agencies in Greater Boston should conduct a reassessment of their functions and relation to other forces in the light of the survey on the larger scale.

The Elizabeth Peabody House is located on Charles Street on the north-western periphery of the West End. It borders the worst and most congested slum section. The history of the house goes back to 1896 when "a group of social-minded people believed that the influence of poverty, crime and sickness could be reduced by organized programs of cultural and physical development guided by trained personnel." The continued emphasis has been upon trained guidance, character training and pioneering in community problems. The present six-story building was designed and constructed as a social center in 1911. Around the ground floor theater (capacity 340) an exceptionally fine program of dramatic training and experience for adult and children's groups has been developed. In general the activity rooms and other facilities are excellent, well-equipped and maintained. The gymnasium is considerably under regulation size. The 1948 budget of \$67,665 gives some indication of the importance of this enterprise. The very considerable program is planned with a view to attracting a wide age, sex and interest range. Specialized and high standard training is stressed in the employment of the twenty paid workers. Field visitation indicated an exceptionally qualified and capable leadership. The 250 volunteers each contribute time at least once a week. The success of the program objective is indicated in the large number of whole families participating. That hospital doctors and their wives are active in some clubs, and that Beacon Hill people participate in the Kathleen Dell theater group is evidence of the range of community social levels successfully drawn in. This is the only house with a planned program specifically directed to serving "problem" children who find group functioning difficult. The probation officer conducts a Scout program, and there are also special groups for "problem" small boys and girls.

Miss Jane Dale, the Peabody House Headworker, was consulted as to those areas which she felt to be relatively under or unserved in the House program. She did not feel that the programs for "problem" children were adequate to the community needs. There is need also for pioneering work with exceptionally talented children. She felt that the young adult group was not being adequately served. The Peabody program does not touch the unattached aged in the community. It is rather remote from the concentration of this group.

The West End House is a neighborhood-centered boys' club. Founded by James Jackson Storrow, it has a local history of forty-three years and a wide support from its "alumni" who grew up in the West End. Its \$22,000 annual budget is 70 per cent underwritten by endowment funds, and the balance stems largely from "alumni" contributions. In these circumstances the plain implication of the Community Survey that the West End House program should be "consolidated" with that of the Peabody House and the present plant closed involves little or no economic pressure and is not likely to be fulfilled. At least the short-range justification for this recommendation appears to be very doubtful. The House provides some

facilities and services not duplicated elsewhere in the West End.

The building, constructed in 1912, is spacious and "boy-proof" to allow for vigorous activity. It is valued at \$225,000. Boys ten years of age and older are served. The House has the only regulation-size, well-equipped gymnasium in the West End, except for that of the Burroughs Newsboys' Foundation which serves a Greater Boston clientele. The policy of the house has been to draw a large part of its group leadership from resident older boys and men "graduates." The Executive Director, Mr. Jacob M. Burns, has an active concern for character guidance and community improvement. Program emphasis is strongly athletic and gym-centered.

The Blackstone Intermediate School is used on Wednesday and Friday evenings as a "School Center." This program is the neighborhood unit of a city-sponsored service which would seem to be more effective in the West End than in some other health and welfare areas. Wednesday night activities are planned to appeal chiefly to adults. There is a sewing group for young mothers and an older mothers' club. Americanization classes are offered. Weekly motion pictures are offered without charge. The attendance averaging 125 is chiefly elderly adult; children are not admitted.

The Friday evening program concentrates on a program for children and young people. Arts and crafts are offered to about forty eight-to-eleven year olds. Boys fourteen to sixteen are taught woodworking, and there is also a young men's group working on household repair. Girls twelve to fourteen have a dancing and social group, and there is also an orchestration club.

The Burroughs Newsboy's Foundation is a central agency for Greater Boston. It is located in the West End but has little relation to it. The Greater Boston Community Survey report on Burroughs is very relevant in view of the fact that it is almost completely supported by the Community Fund. The survey report follows:

This agency operates a Boys' Club, primarily for the use of newsboys and boys engaged in the street trades of Boston. It also directs an extension program in certain sections of the city, utilizing neighborhood facilities one or two nights a week, and operates a camp at Agassiz Village. Its three-story building, located at 10 Somerset Street, is a valuable piece of downtown property. The membership of the agency was reported on June 1, 1948, as 2,431, of which 902 were included in the extension program. A daily attendance at the Clubhouse of approximately 200 is reported. The age range of members is from eight to sixteen. The program is a typical program for this age group, with gymnasium classes, arts and crafts classes, social and special activities. Also in operation is a medical and dental clinic. The agency is completely dependent on Community Fund support (\$66,985 in 1947). The continued operation of this building for 1,500 boys, exclusive of those in the extension program, with a

total daily attendance of 200, does not seem a justifiable charge upon voluntary giving.

WE RECOMMEND: Merger and consolidation of the Burroughs Newsboy's Foundation with the Boston YMCA as an integral part of its boy's work program, to be known as the Burroughs Boys' Center; suitable board direction drawn from both agencies; transfer of the program as soon as practicable to the Downtown Community Center previously proposed; disposal as soon as practicable of the Burroughs Newsboy's Foundation building. The Foundation's camp at Agassiz Village may be continued.

In view of the unequivocal nature of this recommendation, later approved by the Fund Executive Committee, and the dependence of Burroughs on Fund support, it would be redundant to discuss our own findings, especially since these would only tend to expand on the doubtful aspects of the enterprise. The Burroughs Newsboy's Foundation has never played a significant neighborhood role, and even its residence in the West End is now very tentative.

As the Greater Boston Community Survey points out, the Boston Music School is actually "a specialized training school in musical education with an avocational emphasis." Of the 369 pupils receiving musical training in 1946-47, only 38 per cent were resident in the West End, the rest scattered widely over Greater Boston. The Community Fund payment in that year was \$7,655 as against a total budget of \$24,111. The Fund subsidy thus averaged \$20.75 per pupil. The present building is inadequate, lacking soundproof rooms, recital halls and other facilities. The Music School does constitute a real, although highly specialized, social resource now used by many West End children (the largest group of pupils is in the ten to fourteen age bracket).

The recommendation of the Community Fund Survey was "that a plan should be developed to place the Boston Music School...on a self-supporting basis" and "careful restriction of future Community Fund allotments, if any, to make sure that such allotments will be used only for purposes that clearly serve a welfare purpose as the term 'welfare' is normally understood."

3. Children's Day Care.

In addition to the general social centers in the West End, several of which serve the nursery school group, there are two institutions exclusively devoted to this age group, the Sunnyside Day Nursery and the Salvation Army Day Nursery. Both now serve pre-school children from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $5\frac{1}{2}$ years old.

The Sunnyside Day Nursery was organized in 1892 and has been in continuous operation at five different West End locations for fifty-seven years. The building at 16 Hancock Street has been used since 1912. A staff of four full-time workers and one part-time worker conducts the five-day-a-week, ten-hour-a-day program under the direction of Florence P. Gould. The part-time worker is a Family Society case worker who di-

vides her time between the Nursery and the Family Society. The agency seeks to provide "educational rather than institutional" care for the young children of mothers unable to provide adequate care because of work or other reason. Meetings and conferences for parents are undertaken. The 1947 budget was \$13,000, of which 66 per cent was paid from the Community Fund. Enrollment in 1948 was fifty-one with an average daily attendance of twenty-four. The religious affiliation of these children was Roman Catholic thirty-eight, Protestant or Episcopal eight and Jewish five. The building used is old and far from ideal. Building and location are not in keeping with the name.

The Salvation Army Day Nursery has been located since 1946 in the West End Health Center, utilizing the upper floor of the Blossom Street building. This institution is, of course, sponsored by one of the religious groups having a West End unit cooperating in the present study. The Nursery, a distinct project of the Salvation Army, is concerned exclusively with day care for pre-school children and is, therefore, considered here rather than in the succeeding chapter.

The West End history of this project dates from 1918. Under the direction of Major Gertrude H. Atkinson, the staff of five additional trained workers, cook, secretary and maintenance man have made admirable use of the limited space presently available. The program operates five days weekly from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. The 1947 budget of \$18,115 is entirely underwritten by the Salvation Army except for income from pupil fees of about \$2,600. Enrollment in 1948 was fifty-nine with an average daily attendance of twenty-seven. Of this number forty-six children had Roman Catholic religious affiliation, four Protestant or Episcopal, and nine Jewish. Monthly evening meetings for the children's parents were conducted at the Staniford Street site but have not been continued at the present location. The Health Center is regarded as temporary housing between the sale of the prior building and the securing of a new one. The present location is strategically situated directly opposite the public school. The glassed roof, while advantageous in the winter months, renders the present facilities untenable in the summer. Staff training, space use, program and administration appeared to be excellent on the occasions of field visitation.

The Elizabeth Peabody House and the Heath Christian Center provide partial day care through five-day-a-week morning kindergartens. The former served fifty-seven children with average attendance of twenty-eight, and the latter eighty-five with an average daily attendance of fifty-five in 1948.

The recommendations of the Greater Boston Community Survey regarding day care for pre-school children are of interest in relation to the present West End situation. The immediate recommendation is a Fund-sponsored "Day Care Association responsible for organizing and operating day care centers, with an intake policy based on sound casework standards..." The plan would involve the withdrawal of allotments from many present agencies and the use of space in elementary schools. "It should be noted that this recommendation would require...the merging of independent centers with the proposed association."

The "Future Goal" recommendations include "(1) support from tax funds of full day care centers with selective intake based on individual needs and not restricted to the children of working mothers alone; (2) a reduction in the number of voluntary day care centers, and their utilization for explanation of improved techniques, research, training, care of children not accepted by tax-supported centers, and evaluation of group and individual therapy for children and parents."

Inasmuch as two of our churches' most clearly successful week-day enterprises are the Salvation Army Day Nursery and the Heath Christian Center kindergarten, the full Survey report and recommendations in this area of service merit careful study and consideration.

4. Camps.

Practically all West End churches and social agencies operate or make use of summer camps for children. So also do dozens of Greater Boston agencies and organizations who make their facilities available to all children in Greater Boston, including the West End. Neither in the West End nor in Greater Boston as a whole is there any effective coordination of camp operation policies. Charges to the child may run as high as \$40 or as low as no payment at all. Those who do establish definite charges often offer scholarships or other exceptions which may equal the total charges. There is a wide variation in selection policies, in institutional budgeting for camp programs and in services offered. The whole pattern is essentially competitive and laissez-faire and precludes even the possibility of judgment as to whether the actual needs of any neighborhood or of any age group are inadequately, adequately or overadequately met.

The only point that seems to be generally agreed on appears to be that every institution should, ideally, have a camp of its own and, at least, allotted space and time for group representation at some camp. On a Greater Boston scale this is an aspect of the tendency, frequently referred to and criticized in the Greater Boston Community Survey, for every agency to attempt to render the broadest possible service because, in many cases, this is regarded as necessary for gaining and retaining member loyalty, and therefore, necessary to institutional self-preservation. "If we do not offer summer camping, they will go to someone that does." Community need is subordinated to what is seen as competitive necessity. As a consequence over a million dollars a year is spent by Greater Boston voluntary agencies for camping services, in a confused competitive pattern exceedingly wasteful of leadership, time and of the community's money.

It is an open question as to whether the established pattern does more to encourage institutional loyalty or to encourage selfish "shopping" for the best offer to the prospective camper. Meanwhile the less aggressive but perhaps more needy individuals are apt to be left at home.

The West End situation is a miniature of the larger city chaos. There is no area clearing house for assessing total camping resources in relation to total camping needs or for working out general policies by mutual agreement. It would seem obvious that common standards and procedures for judging ability to pay, particular need, decisions as to specific referral

are needed. However, not only is there no such central clearing agency for all the agencies offering summer camping, there is none within the sub-groupings of church or non-church agencies. The small amount of sharing of information and cross-referral that does occur is haphazard and incidental.

The one other point on which general practice would seem to demonstrate nearly unanimous agreement is that institutionally-sponsored summer camping is for boys and girls, chiefly in the eight-to-fifteen age range. Below and above this age bracket very few services are offered. Family camping is not sponsored at all. In the partial summary of present West End camp services both the lack of uniform practice and the age limitations of service should be noted.

The Rev. Ivan Klein and Mr. Elliott Andrews of Bulfinch Place Chapel served as a sub-committee of the West End Study Committee in this field, and much of the detailed information below was gathered by them. We will begin with the church-related services.

Heath Christian Center uses the Baptist City Mission Society Camp at Wrentham for a three-week period. In 1949 two weeks were given to thirty-five children six to thirteen years old, and the third week a group of thirteen junior high children and a group of nine mothers with small children were served. Charges range from \$5 to \$7 per week for campers.

The First Methodist Church assumed full responsibility for Camp Co-No-Mo in Essex for five years. The upkeep burden was heavy, and adequate development of the physical equipment was not possible. In 1948 an experimental cooperative sharing was undertaken with Tremont Street Methodist Church and the Cooper Community Center. The First Methodist share of this plan was three weeks, two of which were given to juniors and intermediates--seniors and the third week to the Methodist Youth Fellowship. The rate was \$6.50 per week in 1948 and \$7.50 in 1949. Total 1948 attendance was forty-five. In 1949, however, only fourteen children, nine to fifteen years of age, applied for camping, and the program was, therefore, limited to one week.

Parker Memorial, the week day work of Bulfinch Place Chapel, utilizes the Unitarian Benevolent Fraternity's farm in Ashby. The two-week periods are alternated between fifteen to twenty-five children (age nine to fourteen) and twelve elderly adults. Mr. Klein estimates that about half the campers come from the West End. Those that can afford to do so pay a \$1 registration fee and the transportation cost.

The Society of St. Margaret, whose American headquarters and convent are at 17 Louisburg Square on Beacon Hill, conducts a camp at South Duxbury with a capacity of thirty. Girls eight to sixteen years old are served for four or eight-week periods at a rate of \$50 for four weeks.

The Order of St. Anne, which maintains a convent at 44 Temple Street, has St. Agnes House in Rockport, Massachusetts, as "a vacation house for needy children."

The Salvation Army operates two large camps available to Greater Boston children. Camp Wonderland at Sharon has a capacity of 296 boys, fifty-eight girls, six to eleven years old, and twenty-four mothers with young children. Camping periods are twelve days, and only a \$2 registration fee is charged. A ten-day camping experience at the same rate is offered seventy-five boys and seventy-five girls from eight to eighteen years old at Camp Louise Andrews at Northfield. The Camp Wonderland Director, Col. Stretton, expressed full readiness to cooperate with the West End ministers in encouraging a larger use of these facilities by West End children. The Salvation Army Day Nursery located in the West End also sponsors a day camp for young children conducted in Newton. This served forty-one children in the summer of 1948.

There are, of course, many other church-sponsored camps potentially available to West End people. The City Missionary Society has a boys' and a girls' camp, each accommodating eighty children from nine to seventeen years of age. The \$20 weekly fee is offset by about 50 per cent "camper-ships." In 1948 three West End children were served. They also operate a camp offering a two-week vacation to twelve families without charge. The Episcopal Church has nine children's camps besides St. Margaret's clearing through the Diocesan Department of Youth. The King's Daughters operate a camp for seventy-five girls at South Hanson. The Universalist Women sponsor camps for diabetic children. There are a number of fine YMCA and YWCA camps serving both children and adults.

All three of the major non-sectarian "settlements" in the West End sponsor summer camps. The Burroughs Newsboy's Foundation conducts Agassiz Village in West Poland, Maine, accommodating 300 boys, nine to fifteen years of age for two-week minimum periods. The rate is \$12.50 per week for members and \$17.50 per week for non-members. The Greater Boston Community Survey recommendation is that the camp service be continued. The Director estimates that a majority of the Burroughs boys using the camp are from the West and North Ends, in about equal proportion from these two sections. Camperships are available.

The Elizabeth Peabody House operates Camp Gannett at Sharon serving eighty-five boys in July and eighty-five girls in August. The age range is eight to fifteen, but most are eight to ten. The rate is \$33.50 per month for members, \$41.50 for other West End children and \$61.80 for other children outside the West End. The House also conducts a Day Camp in July for eighty to 120 children, ages from six to fourteen. The fee of 50 cents weekly includes milk.

The West End House has its camp in East Parsonfield, Maine, accommodating ninety-two boys for two-week periods. It is restricted to "members and graduates." In the spring of 1949 construction of a new camp at a cost of \$100,000 was announced in the press. Funds were raised by "the alumni and their friends."

Again there are many other city-wide non-sectarian agencies sponsoring camps potentially available to West End children. The Boy and Girl Scouts, the Campfire Girls, the Boys' and Girls' Camps, Inc., the Children's Aid Association all offer camping services.

Certain general observations may be made. The variation in fees asked is further confused by possible modifications in almost every case based on varying standards peculiar to each agency. There is more easily accessible camping service for West End boys than for West End girls. There is very little such service for young people over fifteen and for adults--almost none at all for whole family groups. There is some indication that the supply of service in the eight to fifteen age range exceeds present demand.

Somewhat corollary is the observation that July and August witness an almost complete shutdown of week-day programs for both church and non-church social service enterprises in the West End. The Elizabeth Peabody and Salvation Army Day Schools are the most notable exceptions. It is very doubtful that there is sufficient summer exodus, apart from Beacon Hill, to justify this nearly universal institutional "vacation." Actual need of group programs may well be greater in sections of the West End during these months when there is probably a maximum of leisure time and insufficient economic resources for extended family vacations.

5. Coordination.

The lack of cooperative planning demonstrated in the summer camp programs is discernible in almost every aspect of the programs of the social centers. A study of West End community houses prepared in 1938 and available in the files of the Community Studies office of the Greater Boston Community Council notes the "absence of any real working relationship between the several community houses in the West End." This basic lack still obtains.

The most effective coordinating agency is the West End Joint Planning Board. This group includes concerned persons from the "neighborhood at large" as well as representatives from some of the settlements and churches. Jacob Burns of the West End House, Miss Fanny Goldstein of the West End Library, Miss Freda Rogolsky of the Elizabeth Peabody House and Dr. Arthur Stroud of the First Methodist Church have been constant and active leaders in this group. Many other individuals and some institutions have participated from time to time. A Family Society representative and the probation officer attended the meeting at which we reported on juvenile delinquency.

The Burroughs Newsboy's Foundation and our own leaders except for Dr. Stroud and, occasionally, the Rev. Cestaro of Heath Christian Center have not been active with this group.

Despite its limited representation the Board maintains active standing committees on health, sanitation, education, recreation and juvenile delinquency and does have a real influence in the community. It is concerned with common action on immediate issues and has a practical, effective approach. It does accomplish some coordinated action in the community, but its broad and loose structure precludes coming to grips with the lack of coordination in the institutional programs themselves. Institutional sovereignty seems to be so jealously guarded that even "collective bargaining" for the achievement of voluntary cooperation between

the institutions for mutual benefit and improved community service is seldom practiced.

There is a West End Council of Social Agencies which from its title might be assumed to provide that "working relationship" absent in 1938. The monthly meetings of this body at the Elizabeth Peabody House are confined, however, to luncheon, an invited speaker and discussion. It is not an official coordinating body or even an informal planning group.

The Beacon Hill Association and the West End Improvement Association (organized in 1947) are composed of residents on the "right" and "wrong" sides of the Hill respectively. They are said to be associations predominantly concerned with cleaner streets and house fronts, real estate values, zoning restrictions and the "quaintness" of the Hill--hence the much publicized recent campaign to preserve Beacon Hill cobblestones.

6. Store Front Clubs.

While much of the credit for the sharp reduction of gang juvenile delinquency in the seven-to-twelve age grouping belongs to the West End social centers, this is less true of the thirteen-to-seventeen age bracket, because relatively few of the older children maintain close attachment to the centers. Several of the West End workers cited the difficulty of retaining loyalty beyond the twelve-year age level. There is an increasing tendency to object to supervision and to drift away from the centers. Nevertheless serious gang delinquency has not developed in recent years.

In an effort to discover the reason for this surprising fact in a region where the social and economic environment would justify an expectancy of gang delinquency, one of our students, the Rev. Robert W. MacNeill (11.), was assigned the task of seeking the cause or causes. His investigations led him to an exploration of the "store-front clubs" of the West End. Three of the clubs, the Club 14-24, the Club Sheraton and the Mercury Club were visited, and members were interviewed. The first two of these serve sixteen-to-twenty-year-old young people; the Mercury Club serves young adults. Mr. MacNeill also interviewed four of the girls who attend "club" activities regularly.

Let us look in on one of these clubs through Mr. MacNeill's eyes:

The Club "14-24", 14 Leverett Street., Boston

Appearance

The club was located in a store, above the street level. A small sign "Club 14-24" hung in the center of the plate-glass front. The outside needed a fresh coat of paint, but on the inside the walls and ceiling had probably been done within the last

11. Mr. MacNeill grew up in Roxbury and has a background of central-urban experience which adds value to his observations. He was in no sense an "innocent abroad" in the course of this study.

two years. Stars were painted on the ceilings, and little figurines decorated the walls.

The club consisted of one large room, all exits, except the entry and a door opening into a toilet, were blocked up. Chairs, sofas, and tables were placed in various parts of the room; some of the furniture had been recently purchased. Life centered around a commercial "juke-box" in the center of the room. A sink was inconspicuously placed in the rear of the room. The rear of the room was used for a lounge. Games and a radio and a reading lamp were located in one corner.

Activities

The group is organized, primarily, to provide a meeting place for the young people in the neighborhood. Their most common activity is dancing, for which they are open six nights of the week. They meet here to go out with other clubs in the neighborhood, to go to outside dances and other events. For those not interested in dancing, there are the games, radio, and group fellowship. They take part in the political activities of the community, particularly during elections. They sponsor an annual dance at one of the major downtown ballrooms to supplement their dues. They sponsor an athletic group which competes against other clubs in the neighborhood.

Organization

The club apparently operates on a constitution, having officers and a director. The director must be over twenty-one to contract for the club, and he is usually just one of the older boys in the neighborhood.

The club is three years old, and is operating on a budget of approximately \$600 per annum. Dues of fifty cents a week are charged the members of the club. There are about twenty-five members in the club, whose ages run from 16-20 years. There are weekly business meetings and "clean-up" held every Tuesday night; the club closes to social activities that evening.

An annual dance is sponsored by the group to meet expenses the dues cannot meet. An extensive program is also printed carrying advertisements of local leaders, merchants, friends, and fellow clubs.

Supervision

The club is supervised by the police, and occasionally the priest comes in. The clubs are always open for the inspection of people in the community.

Comments

The group was very cordial, well-dressed, and expressed pride in the club and its achievement and place in the community. Some of the members were in college. No delinquency records were known among the members. Occasionally they were bothered by the younger children; they feel there ought to be similar clubs for the younger children. That is what the children want. No married people in the club, but many are going "steady."

The Club Sheraton at 262 Friend Street followed a similar pattern. Let us extract some pertinent description:

The walls of the ballroom were decorated with gay animal cartoons. Small inconspicuous signs were placed about the lounge as reminders, such as -- "No work clothes permitted." The boys and girls were moderately to well dressed. Toilet facilities were adjoined to the large room, otherwise there were no other rooms leading off the main hall...

The club was mainly designed to supply a meeting place for the group, a place to spend their evenings...

The Club works in close cooperation with the other clubs of the West and North Ends in almost all of their activities. Together they sponsor many summer activities, such as swimming parties, hay rides, weinie roasts, parties and dances.

The club had a constitution, regular officers and a director. It has a membership of approximately twenty-five boys... Membership is limited to those over sixteen years of age; this also applies to girls coming to activities of the club..

The only supervision of the club is made by the police officer assigned to that section.

The reception was very cordial... They are bothered, occasionally, by a gang of younger boys from the poolroom across the street (Scully's).

The Mercury Club at 179 Cambridge Street "is considered the best of all the clubs." It serves an older group from twenty to thirty-two years of age. The club is chartered by the state and has about forty members, ten of whom are married. Dues are \$2 monthly. This is the oldest extant club, organized in 1937.

One of the club rooms is used for dancing, and the other is fitted as a lounge.

The floor is covered with inlaid linoleum, and the ceilings are equipped with modern chandeliers. None of the furniture is over three years old, while much of it has been purchased recently. A television set has been recently installed, which was paid for

by the proceeds of their annual dance. The windows have been beautifully decorated with an abundance of colorful drapes. The atmosphere is cheerful, comfortable and companionable.

...Dancing is prominent, but probably not the center of the activities. As many of the members are married, it serves more as a place of recreation and fellowship...The club becomes more predominantly coed at special parties, birthday parties, anniversaries, and etc. It is only at these special events that liquor may be served.

...The group was very cordial. Some have children and the club, as a whole, have a concern for the general welfare of the community. They deplored the lack of ball playing and swimming facilities in the West End, not for themselves, but for the younger children. They claim that the playgrounds remain locked most of the time and are seldom available. The teachers in the public schools are antagonistic towards the children and offer no extra-curricular activities for the children outside of class. They would like to open their club to the youngsters of the neighborhood several nights a week, but the problem of getting "movies" makes it difficult for them to offer a program.

They would like to know if they could borrow a projector and films from some other agency in the West End to initiate such a community program. They have been wanting to push a program of this type for the last five years, but have been unable to see how it could be financed.

They are quite convinced themselves that the trouble spots for the delinquency problem are the poolrooms and bowling alleys. Scully's Poolroom was again mentioned as the center of such activity. The North Station area appears to be the heart of the delinquency problem in the minds of many.

Mr. MacNeill's investigation indicated that these store-front clubs were approved by the parents of the young people concerned, by the police, the priest and by social workers who knew of them.

What is, of course, astonishing about all of this is that spontaneous "clubs" for teen agers in underprivileged central urban areas have in instance after instance been found to be breeding places for juvenile delinquency and training centers for adult crime. Such club houses have served as battle headquarters in wars with rival gangs. Typically, "independence" has been used for flouting the community standards, for indulging in minor and major vice, for unbridled sex license. The tendency is for them to be secret or hole-in-corner hangouts where all outsiders are barred, and the stranger is apt to receive anything except a cordial greeting. They are often aggressively anti-social, almost always fundamentally so. At least at many points the West End store-front clubs seem to have reversed the usual pattern and, thereby, made a distinct contribution to the community life.

One point would seem to be indisputable. The store-front clubs are successful. They are very popular with the participants who express pride in their clubs and strong loyalty to them. Despite the relative poverty of the community, the members and local friends consider them sufficiently worth while to pay for them. This is in marked contrast with the churches and social centers, almost all of which have received substantial subsidy from outside the district. They have sizeable memberships among boys and young men in an age range that is a frustrating problem to other social centers. Girls and young women in about equal numbers and in the same age ranges are "auxiliary" to each club. This success alone would be a sufficient justification for a closer analysis of the reasons for it and the inferences in relation to our own work with this important section of the West End population. Such an analysis might include the following points:

A. The store-front clubs do meet real needs of the upper teen-age group.

1. The need for social life outside the home and family.

This need is natural and to be expected of young people at this stage of their growing to maturity in any community. It is especially pressing in the dense crowding and cramped and dingy "homes" typical of much of the West End.

2. The need for friendly association with persons of the opposite sex.

These are college-age young people. It is normal, natural and healthy that they should seek means for social association on a "coed" basis. That this is done frankly and openly in their own neighborhoods and in halls accessible to any who wish to enter is a favorable indication. The physical structure of the clubs inspected with large common rooms without "nooks and crannies" or side rooms is also favorable. Neither of these things is, of course, an absolute guarantee against what our New England forebears would have called "hankey panky." Actually our investigation did indicate some sex intimacy among some of the young people involved. Before reaching for stones, however, it is pertinent to consider whether the same statement could not be made about every sizeable mixed social group of this age no matter whether its meetings might be held on a college campus, in a social center or in a church. It is more relevant to consider that many of the alternatives available to these young people in and near the West End are almost infinitely more conducive to encouraging sex license than are their store-front clubs. Certainly, no amount of surveillance and directed activity can serve as a substitute for the self-imposed standards of the individual and of the groups concerned at this age level. The evidence is that the self-imposed standards of these clubs while probably not ideal are surprisingly high in view of all the environmental circumstances.

The account given by one of the girls interviewed of her own family experience is to the point. Her father was vigorously opposed to her attending the functions of the nearby club and deeply suspicious of the "goings on" there. The girl urged him to visit the club himself at any time that he chose. The father finally, and quite persistently, did so, dropping in at different times and without warning. In this instance the result was that the father became an enthusiastic booster of the club. The generally favorable attitude of the parents concerned would seem to multiply this testimony.

3. The need for finding a marriage partner.

Many young people in the West End expect to and do marry in the late teens or early twenties. The pairing of prospective marriage partners seems to be a frankly-recognized function of these clubs. At this point, as at many others, the West End store-front clubs' predominant pattern contrasts with that of the average college fraternity or sorority where casual and varied dalliance is the more usual pattern.

4. The need for independence.

Just as in other social and economic strata the young people select a distant college in order to fill this natural need, this normal step in growth in our culture, so the young people of the West End prefer their own clubs to the institutional alternatives. The clubs are in a genuine sense their own, and, fortunately or unfortunately, this can never be equally true of any church or center-sponsored program. They want to stand on their own feet, decide their own policies, choose their own leaders, have a place that is genuinely theirs and assume full responsibility. This particular means of expressing the need to "try their own wings" is, actually, more conclusive than are most of the devices for achieving independence among middle and upper-class young people. That it has not been accompanied by a sharp break with community morality and mores and by mutual hostility between the groups and the community is a credit to all concerned.

5. The need for creativity.

This is a close corollary of point 3. There are expressions of real pride in building up the club, in putting over a big program, in the tasteful decoration of the premises, in winning the acceptance of the community, in achieving an influence in community affairs and in the quality of their self-imposed standards. The concern over the welfare of younger children is an indication that this valuable social resource may be further developed to the benefit of the whole community.

B. The store-front clubs have many other strong points.

There is considerably more value for our own work in analyzing the strong points of this program than in criticizing its weaknesses and limitations. Actually these latter pale into insignificance when it is considered that spontaneous youth "clubs" in similar urban circumstances elsewhere are serious sources of social infection. The rather limited horizons of the clubs and the heavy weighting of dancing in the programs is characteristic of the age group (as all pastors know!) The use of liquor on special occasions in the young adult group's club is in conformity with the accepted social patterns in most of the homes of the parents.

What are the strong points?

1. The clubs are thoroughly rooted in the West End community. They are in and of it. They have grown up with its problems and know them firsthand. The leadership developed out of this material has a tremendous advantage.
2. Their stake being that of past, present and future residents, they tend to think in terms of community welfare rather than in a narrower institutional framework. The age limits make these clubs temporary for each individual, what remains is the community they will continue to live in. Our investigator was so impressed with this aspect of the matter that he reported that "there appears to be a greater community spirit existing between, and within, these groups than there is in the organized centers of the West End."
3. Minor rivalries between the clubs seem to be subordinated to mutual cooperation and mutual support.
4. Their doors are open to all. Mr. MacNeill's reception was invariably cordial. They seem to have consciously chosen not to hide from or attempt to sever themselves from the community, but to welcome it upon their own established ground.
5. They seem to have a clear consciousness that their clubs are a deliberate substitute for street gangs and that an essential part of their function is the overcoming of juvenile delinquency. They point with pride to the absence of police records among their membership. One club, not among the three observed, is largely composed of the former group dubbed by the press as the "North Station Terror Gang" who committed serious depredations some years ago. The police testimony is that this activity has ceased since the club was organized. (It is, incidentally, notable that none of the club members interviewed questioned the seriousness of the juvenile delinquency problem in the West End.) They see a modified--more supervised--store-front pattern as the solution for delinquency in the twelve-to-fourteen high school age group.

6. The club cloth is cut to fit the club members' capacity to pay. This is the price of and, objectively, a benefit of independence. Doing the most you can with what you can actually afford is an essential lesson that one needs to learn in the process of attaining maturity. It is not learned in the other institutions serving West End children and young people.
7. This self-support involves considerable self-sacrifice for group ends. There is genuine sharing and this, too, is a step toward healthy maturity.
8. The clubs have recognized (and demonstrated) a need for continued summer activity in the West End itself. They do not go on vacation or center their activity at a distant camp.
9. The clubs' memberships tend to cut across lines of national and religious difference and reflect the general community. The younger generation are proud that their clubs include Catholics, Protestants and Orthodox young people. Italian and Irish names mingle with "American" ones on the same roll.
10. These young people's standards are self-imposed and, therefore, considerably more genuine and binding. Soft drinks only are served in the twenty-and-under clubs. Standards of dress and conduct in the club are established and enforced by the group. The usual tough-guy, trouble-maker type dominant in most central city groups of this age is out of step in the club pattern developed in the West End. What is astonishing is not that these self-imposed standards are not all-inclusive or perfect, but that they are as high as they are in this social environment. The average college fraternity would suffer greatly in a point by point comparison.

Two other observations will close this section. First, the attempts of high school age youngsters to "crash" these clubs would seem to indicate lack of an adequate program for this age group at present. They seem to be breaking away from present center programs but are too young to be eligible for the store-front clubs. This is a problem that merits study and cooperative action.

Some comfort to center and church staff workers who may infer some implied criticism of their work in the foregoing section may be derived from the fact that many of the club members were "graduates" of the centers and expressed appreciation of their value for the younger children. Mr. MacNeill's report concludes on this point:

The Centers, as a whole, enjoy a good reputation.

- a. Members of "14-24" (Club) praised the work of the West End House as well as the YMCA and YWCA.
- b. Girls that were interviewed praised the work of the

Christian Center (Heath).

- c. Parker Memorial received the glowing praise of many of the young boys in that neighborhood.

General Welfare Agencies and Social Resources

The difficulty in compiling any sort of rudimentary directory of additional West End social resources is that the southern portion of the district merges into the downtown area and includes a great many of the state and city offices of social service agencies. Some of these may incidentally serve neighborhood needs but inclusion of them all would only serve to prolong and confuse the listing. In the main, then, only units directly serving the West End will be listed. It should be noted that the presence in the West End of the headquarters of such agencies as the Family Society, the Children's Aid Society, the Judge Baker Guidance Center, the Big Brother Association, etc., makes a variety of excellent case work and related service especially accessible to the West End. Census tract location will be given in parenthesis.

A. Public services

Boston Juvenile Court, Pemberton Square (F-6)
 Department of Public Welfare, 43 Hawkins Street (F-6)
 West End Branch, Dependent Aid, 25 Blossom Street (H-1)
 Health Unit, 25 Blossom Street (H-1)
 Dental, Tuberculosis Diagnostic and Child Health Clinics, other health services
 Police Station, 3 Joy Street (K-1)
 Public Library, West End Branch, 131 Cambridge Street (H-4)
 Wayfarer's Lodge, 30 Hawkins Street (F-6)

B. Private services

1. Health

Committee for Home Care of Children with Heart Disease
 office in Massachusetts General Hospital, Fruit and Grove Streets (H-3)
 Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary, 1243 Charles Street (H-3)
 Massachusetts General Hospital, Fruit and Grove Streets (H-3)
 Vincent Memorial Hospital, 32 Fruit Street (H-3)
 Visiting Nurse Association, 25 Blossom Street (H-1)
 Bedside nursing care and pre-natal classes

2. Family Service and Relief

Catholic Charitable Bureau, West End Branch, 25 Blossom Street (H-1)
 Family Society of Boston, West End Branch, 25 Blossom Street (H-1)
 Jewish Family Welfare Assn., West End Branch, 25 Blossom Street (H-1)

The housing of many of these health and welfare resources in the Health Unit on Blossom Street tends to minimize overlapping and contribute to the development of maximum service. It is centrally-located and easily accessible from any part of the West End.

Chapter 5. The Community Outlook

Prophecy in the face of the extreme complexity and mobility of central-urban problems in general and of the West End in particular is a risky business. We have not forgotten the Woods' survey "boner" in confidently and flatly declaring in 1902 that "Protestantism is passing" in the West End, "the religious issue...lies with the Roman Catholic and Jewish systems." In the years between social science has learned greater caution. The full story of the future will have to await the unfolding of the years. What is possible, and valuable, is to draw together from the available factual data such indications of probable immediate and possible long-term trends as may be found. Most of the points below have been touched on in the earlier text but they are summarized here so that they may be considered and weighed together.

The following statements would seem to have a bearing on the "community outlook" of the West End.

1. It appears that the structure of the community is unlikely to be drastically altered in the near future. The known changes contemplated by public and private agencies are relatively minor as compared, for example, to those contemplated for Charlestown. The Embankment Speedway, while (as noted) disadvantageous to the neighborhood, will run along its periphery and will not break up the West End itself as the once proposed central artery along Leverett Street would have done. Present traffic reform plans contemplate no additional highways in West End territory. The only other pending city and Metropolitan District plans affecting our area of study are those for an improved traffic interchange around the Charles Street Station and those for improvement of the Charlesbank and Lomasney playgrounds. Both may be long delayed.

For many years the State House has had inadequate space for state offices and widely scattered, inefficient and uneconomic office rentals have resulted. Eventual building of an additional office building or buildings close to the present State House is highly probable. However, the site may displace little or no residential property and the date of actual construction is indefinite. There remains the possibility that this State House expansion might include the First Methodist property lying in the block below the present offices. In recent months some tentative and exploratory inquiries of Methodist officials have been made.

2. It appears that the total population will probably decline gradually in the near future. We have seen that the very sharp drop of 31 per cent in the 1920's was followed by only a 2.7 per cent loss in the '30's. The 1945 state census figures are not strictly comparable but indicate a 7.7 per cent loss. State research experts forecast loss at about the same rate through 1950 and a more moderate decline up to 1970, totaling 20 per cent over the twenty-five-year period. Beyond five years this is, of

course, an "if present trends continue" guess. Major factors in this forecast are deteriorating housing and some business encroachment. Yet even without the help of possible positive factors the state forecast is for about 20,000 West End-residents in 1970. Our own 5.01 per cent sample census gave no indication of any imminent mass exodus. Nearly three-quarters of those interviewed desired to remain. The same census presented definite evidence of substantial recent migration into the West End. Of 614 families 283 had moved into the West End in the preceding five years.

3. It appears that the proportion of children will probably decline, and the proportion of adults and of aged persons will probably increase in the near future. This is in line with the recent population trend, the attitudes of the residents expressed in the sample census, the trend to decrease in the size of dwelling units and other factors. Population under eighteen years of age declined 24 per cent in the '30's, whereas total population declined only 2.7 per cent. More than half the parents with children under eighteen were thinking of moving from the West End, while 84 per cent of the adults without such children did not want to move. Continued prosperity may well mean that more children will be born, but it also facilitates the family transfer to a better environment for children.

4. It appears that the proportion of the foreign-born will probably decline in the near future, that of the native-born increase. The decline in total number of foreign-born was 25 per cent between 1930 and 1940. Unless a sharp change in national immigration policy occurs, the natural decline will continue at an increasing rate. Foreign-born indicated a slightly higher desire to move out of the West End than did the native-born in the sample census.

5. It appears that the proportion of persons available to our churches will probably increase in the near future. The sample census indicated that among persons taking up residence in the West End in the last five years, the Protestant and Episcopal proportion was 6 per cent higher than that in the total sample and the unaffiliated proportion $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent higher. The sampling of attitude toward continued residence found 87 per cent of Protestant families wishing to remain in the West End, a 14 per cent higher favorable response than for the total replies, 22 per cent higher than that of Roman Catholic families and 40 per cent higher than that of Jewish families.

6. It appears that housing will continue to deteriorate and property values will tend to decline in the near future. This is, of course, particularly true of the Back of Beacon Hill and West End Proper neighborhoods where the cheap building and poor construction of the late nineteenth century is everywhere evident. Despite some renovations, this seems to be the overall trend.

7. The trend toward subdivision into apartments, rooming houses, and tenements--toward smaller and smaller dwelling units--will probably continue in the near future. This is a district-wide trend. The conversion

of Beacon Hill "mansions" into fashionable apartments will probably continue. Among probable results may be a larger, more adult, more transient population in some sections.

8. It appears that the pressure for business, commercial and industrial invasion will continue but, probably, at a declining rate in the immediate future. The tendency for central urban location of many types of commercial and industrial enterprises has been reversed in recent years in most great American cities. The North and South Ends are equally central and much nearer non-residential conquest than is the West End.

9. The dominant reason for West End residence, convenient nearness to central-city work, shops and entertainment, probably will continue to be an effective stabilizer of the residential character of the West End. The fact that commercial invasion of the North and South Ends and even of the Back Bay is far advanced in some respects strengthens the likelihood that those desiring central-city residence will strive to preserve the residential character of the West End.

10. It appears that the zoning protections for West End residences are unlikely to be weakened in the immediate future. On the contrary, the recent history is one of increasing protection against business and commercial invasion. This probably reflects both declining non-residential pressure and increase in the intensiveness and extensiveness of residential demand.

11. Beacon Hill will probably continue as a strong stabilizing factor favoring West End residence in the immediate future. Beacon Hill prestige has been constant over 150 years while other Boston sites of fashionable residence have bloomed and faded. Firey demonstrates that it has gained in prestige and blue-book families in the present century and that these families "set the tone" despite the apartment subdivision trend. Eventual shift of status is probably inevitable, but it is likely to be very gradual.

12. There is a long-range possibility of extended public or private housing projects reversing the present gradual decline of the West End as a residential area. The present major obstacle to large-scale housing projects is the high cost of site clearance. City Planning Board officials regard these costs as "artificially high" in the upper West End and see the possibility of some combination of more realistic amortization valuations, continued property depreciation, amendment of existing Federal limitations (12.) and a new depression resulting in extended housing projects in this area. Such a development might result, as in South Boston, in a backflow of population and a far more favorable future community outlook.

12. Present legislation restricts financing of public housing projects to those where site clearance costs are under \$1.50 per square foot. This means that many of the tenement slums of Boston cannot be attacked.

MAP 30

KEY TO "LOCATION OF CHURCHES
AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS"

1. Bulfinch Place Chapel (Unitarian)
2. Church of the Advent (Episcopal)
3. Charles St. Meeting House (Universalist)
4. Church of the New Jerusalem
5. First Methodist Church
6. Heath Christian Center (Baptist)
7. St. John the Evangelist (Episcopal)
8. Salvation Army Corps
9. Merrimac Mission (107 Staniford)
10. Rescue Army Inc. (41A Howard)
11. Our Lady of Ostrobrama (Polish) R.C.
12. St. Joseph's R.C.
13. Congregation Anshe Libavitz)
14. Congregation Tifereth Israel)
15. Congregation Beth Hamedrash Hagodol) Synagogues
16. Congregation Adas Israel)
17. Congregation Villnow)
18. Christian Assembly (Garden & Cambridge)

MAP 30-LOCATION OF CHURCHES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS GROUPS

WEST END CENSUS TRACTS 1948



LARGE NUMERALS INDICATE CHURCHES COOPERATING
THROUGH THE WEST END MINISTERS ASSOCIATION

PART II

THE CHURCHES

Methodological Introduction

One of the most obvious observations to be made about our churches and religious institutions in the West End is that they present a wide variation in relation to the neighborhood, in structure and in dominant purpose and function. In contrast to East Boston and South Boston and some other sections of the city, we are not dealing here with a group of local neighborhood churches following traditional denominational patterns for the local urban church with varying degrees of success.

Instead some of our churches have never been primarily concerned with the people or the problems of the neighborhood in which they are located. Rather, they are typical urban "central churches" with sharply defined theological, liturgical or cultural emphases. On this basis, they have drawn like-minded persons from the entire Greater Boston area. Their location was chosen and maintained because it is "downtown," easily accessible to a wide area. A secondary determinant, in some cases, was probably the long-standing "fashionable" connotation of Beacon Hill location.

On the other hand concern for the neighborhood and adaptation to its changing population and changing needs has led others of our religious institutions to shift gradually from a primary concern with a neighborhood membership and constituency and a Sunday service centered program to dominant concern with social service and a weekday program related to community needs. More recently social service projects under religious auspices have been launched without any direct association with a local congregation or "church" in the traditional sense.

Still others have maintained a dominant emphasis on serving a neighborhood congregation and providing Christian ministry and suitable church-centered programs.

These are the three major types of work sponsored by our churches, the variation within each type is considerable. Some may be in process of re-evaluating and modifying their major emphasis, others may well do so as time goes on and new situations develop.

The methodological difficulties consequent upon this diversity in the West End are considerable. Although all of the cooperating churches and institutions were supplied with detailed schedules both the responses and, in some instances, the failure to use the schedules reflected the difficulty of applying generally applicable common criteria. Where practicable the information obtained from schedules has been supplemented by data derived from denominational yearbooks, from interviews with pastors, staff members, lay members and other concerned persons, and from staff observation of the program activities. All the available sources tend to confirm the general conclusion that the character of our various institutions in the West End is too diverse for fruitful over-all comparison.

Practically, the more effective approach would seem to be the analysis of the structure and functioning of each in relation to its own purposes as expressed by its spokesmen and its extant program. In each case the neighborhood situation and community needs and problems are very relevant background. This individual sketching may have the incidental advantage of more readily providing a starting point for further self-analysis by the personnel of each institution.

The grouping of our churches and institutions on the basis of present dominant function as 1. Central-city churches, 2. Neighborhood social-service centers and 3. Neighborhood churches would seem to be valid and will be followed in the order given.

Chapter 1. The Central-city Churches

1. The Church of the New Jerusalem

Year Organized 1818		Present Building Since 1845	
Total Membership, 1949	310	Members from West End	11
Active Members	222	Per cent of Total	2.8
Resident	160	Other Members in Boston	39
Non-resident	62	Per cent of Total	12.6
Inactive Members	88	Official Board, West End	1
Resident	47	Per cent of Total	4.5
Non-resident	41	Membership, 1940	343
Male Members	99	Membership, 1930	395
Female Members	211	Membership, 1920	449
Child Members	0	Per cent loss 1920-1949	31.0

We have seen in Chapter 2 that the Church of the New Jerusalem was the earliest West End religious society still surviving today. The church building is the only one in continuous use by the same society since the first half of the nineteenth century. From the beginning the society drew its adherents from all sections of Boston and the immediate vicinity. The church site was selected, not by reason of a neighborhood constituency, but because it was "remarkably well situated being almost in the centre and on the highest land in the city." Today less than three per cent of the members are resident in the West End and only 15 per cent resident anywhere in Boston. Of the total membership 35 per cent are beyond commuting range of Boston and are classed as non-resident. This distant group, seventy-two of them scattered in other states and six in foreign countries, represents 28 per cent of the active roll and 53 per cent of the inactive roll. All the members resident in the West End are active, nine live on Beacon Hill, two on the Back of Beacon Hill. Only one member of a total of twenty-two members of the Church and Standing Committees, the official bodies, is a West End resident.

The history of the church indicates that its role has been actually, though not officially, one of "mother church" for most of the denomination's Greater Boston churches which were originally launched as mission projects by the Bowdoin Street church. The relatively large size of its membership, structure and resources tend to give it continued leadership in the group. Church funds continue to be used for financing student scholarships and ministerial training.

The Church of the New Jerusalem is by far the largest of the fifteen Massachusetts, Rhode Island and New Hampshire societies affiliated in the Massachusetts Association of the New Jerusalem. This in turn is the regional body of the national General Convention of the New Jerusalem in the U.S.A. This small denomination had eighty-two churches and 5,267 members in 1948. Inasmuch as the "New Church" or the "Swedenborgians" as they are frequently called are not widely known, and inasmuch as aspects of their history and viewpoint are relevant to the future role of the local society in our cooperative planning for the West End, a brief sketch would seem to be in order.

The Rev. Antony Regamey, pastor of the Church of the New Jerusalem, prepared the following summary statement:

Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) - the son of a Lutheran bishop - was a Swedish scientist, philosopher and theologian. It was his conviction that a new era, characterized by freedom of inquiry into the truth, lay before Christianity and that he had been called by the Lord to present to the world a comprehensive statement of Christian teaching. This centers on the conception and worship of the Lord Jesus Christ, Risen and Glorified, as the one and only Divine person ("in whom is the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit"); in the recognition of a deeper truth in the Scriptures, revealing Him and concerned with the growing spiritual needs of mankind; and on a practical exposition of the practice of charity far in advance of his day, demanding that the various groups constituting our social order establish their mutual relationships, as "larger neighbors," on a Christian basis.

Swedenborg regarded his message as non-denominational and looked forward to a total Christianity reborn. However his followers created a separate institutional entity. The strong theological emphasis and the distinctive character of the theological teaching in an intolerant age made continued participation in the contemporary churches increasingly difficult. This was the more true because the strong strain of mysticism was alien to the dominant Protestantism of the period. Thus, felt difference and real difference on both sides led to the creation of the "New Church."

Increasing tolerance and a diminishing general concern for theological questions in the later years have resulted in a closer realization of Swedenborg's ecumenical purpose. The rise of the Social Gospel movement with its stress on practical application of Christian faith echoes the earlier stress of Swedenborg's thought and has contributed to drawing the New Church closer to the main stream of Protestantism. The Massachusetts Association is a long-time member of the Massachusetts Council of Churches and the pastor of the Church of the New Jerusalem, the Rev. Antony Regamey, recently President of the Boston Area Council of Churches, was an organizer of and is present Chairman of the West End Ministers' Association.

Returning now to the membership data summarized at the beginning of this section, it will be noted that more than two-thirds of the present membership are women, less than one-third men. The total membership has declined at a gradual and rather consistent rate since 1920, the twenty-nine-year loss being 31 per cent of the total 1920 membership. Yearbooks do not reveal the changes in "active" membership during this period because this category was not used in the earlier years. The pastor feels that removal of non-resident and inactive members from the rolls and the high average age and consequent considerable mortality among the members are factors in this decline.

The occupational distribution of the employed members contrasts rather sharply with that of Boston and West End working force, as the table on the following page shows.

TABLE 7A

Occupational Distribution in Boston, the West End,
and Among Members of the Church of the New Jerusalem

Occupation	Boston 1940 (%)	West End 1940 (%)	New Jerusalem 1949 (%)
Operatives, laborers	19	16	0
Seeking work, on relief	20	18	0
Clerical, sales	22	19	20
Craftsmen, foremen	10	7	10
Service workers, domestics	14	18	2
Proprietors, managers, officials	6	6	12
Professional, semi-professional	8	15	56

The present church membership is drawn largely from white collar and professional levels with an especially heavy weighting among professional people. The unskilled and the economically underprivileged are unrepresented in the membership.

A comparison of the "population pyramids" of the West End population and the constituency of the Church of the New Jerusalem presents another striking contrast. The West End population grouped in ten-year age brackets up to seventy years of age and with males to the left and females to the right of the center line of the "pyramid" present the picture shown on Chart 22. The relative childlessness of the depression years, and of many types of West End residents, and the exodus of families with young children from the area are reflected in the narrow base and broad middle of this picturization. Nevertheless, if each level were a wooden block, the structure would stand. Sociologically the community, while not entirely self-perpetuating without continued in-migration, has a fairly normal sex and age balance above the twenty-year level.

The Church of the New Jerusalem constituency, i.e., all adults and children listed as having some relation to the church program, presents the picture that heads the next page when grouped in the same way. The resultant figure above the ten-year level is an inverted and misshapen pyramid. The predominance of adults and of older adults may be in part a reflection of the denomination's stress on adult program and the greater appeal to mature adults of the church's theological emphasis. The numbers of children under ten years are drawn largely from the cradle roll listing. The inference would seem to be that one of the problems of the society is to follow up initial contact so that young children are drawn into the Sunday school and the subsequent stream of church life.

Whatever the background reasons for the present configuration of church membership, it raises very serious problems to be considered by the proper committees of the society. The comparatively large groups in the upper age brackets imply a normal expectancy of exceptionally high

TOTAL CONSTITUENCY
OF THE CHURCH OF THE NEW JERUSALEM

Age	MALE	FEMALE
70 and over	12	43
60-69	19	50
50-59	30	51
40-49	14	42
30-39	20	31
20-29	16	15
10-19	8	12
Under 10	24	28

mortality. Ten or twenty years from now the church faces serious decimation unless sources not now present in the constituency are drawn upon. Similarly, even the small numbers now in the twenty to forty age range cannot be replaced by present contacts in future years. The unbalance between men and women at almost every age level presents another challenge to program planning.

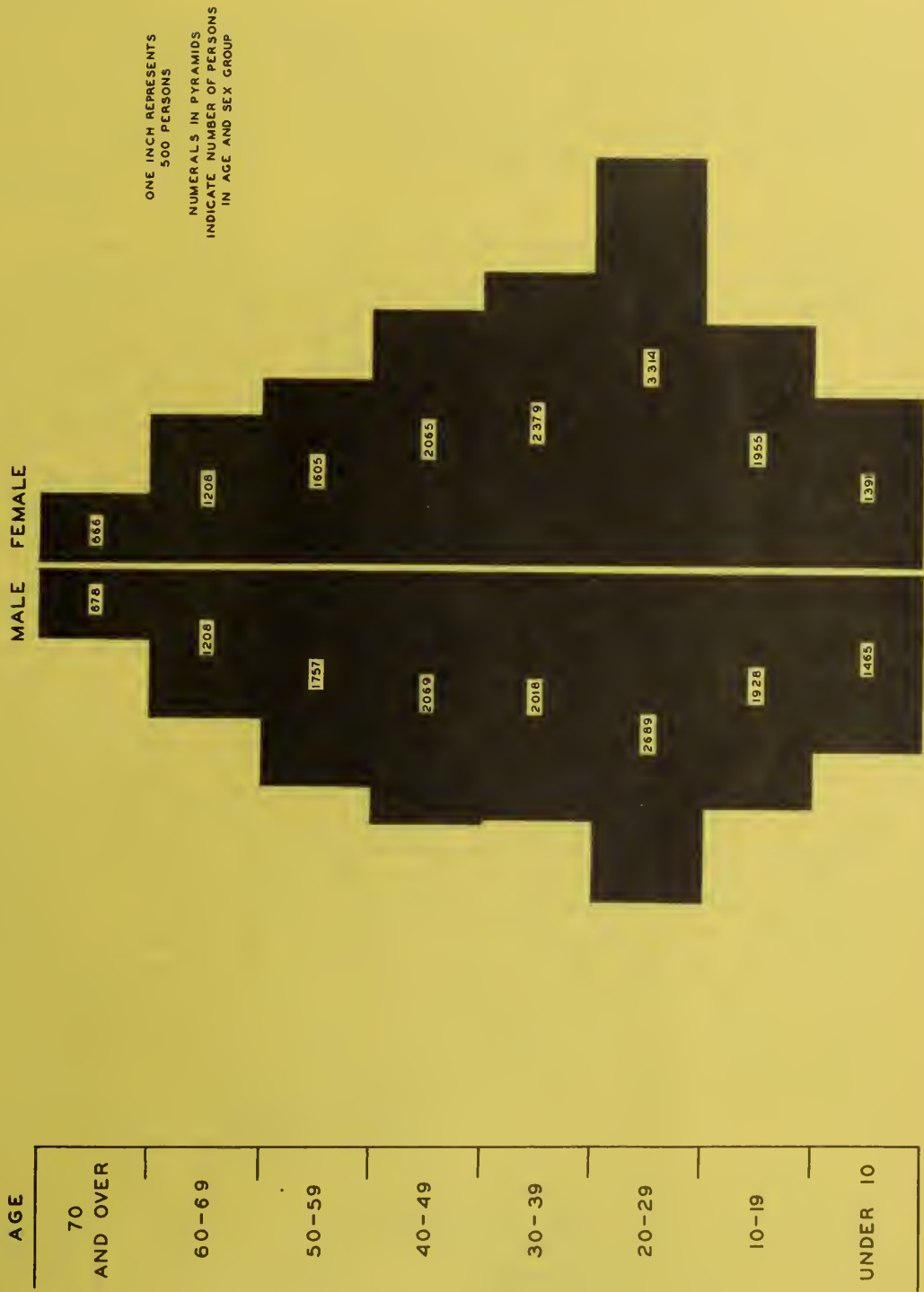
The Church School

Enrollment	61	Teachers Resident in West End	1
Officers and Teachers	13	Pupils Resident in West End	5
Number of Classes	7	Children of non-members	5

The church school enrollment figure does not include the forty-two listed on the cradle roll. Classes are as follows:

Age	Enrollment	Name of Class
3-5	8	Beginners
6-7	3	Primary
8-9	3	Junior I

CHART 22 - AGE-SEX DISTRIBUTION OF WEST END RESIDENTS, 1940



10-12	3	Junior II
12-14	4	Intermediate
15-25	13	Senior
26 and over	27	Swedenborg Fellowship

The strong predominance of adults in the constituency is reflected in the church school. Most of the classes are very small. The number of persons drawn from the locality and from outside the church family is also small. Ten of the teachers and officers are college graduates, the other three have completed high school. This is an exceptionally favorable educational background.

A major handicap to the development of the church school is the lack of adequate physical facilities and modern equipment for religious education. Even such usual equipment as small chairs and tables for younger children is lacking. The large first-floor rooms are used for several classes meeting simultaneously. There is a need for smaller suitably-equipped rooms for class meetings. These needs exist for the children and others now inadequately served even though it may be acknowledged that the immediate prospect of substantial increase in numbers is slight. The number of children of present members is limited and many of these families are too remote from the church for regular Sunday school attendance. Nevertheless, those who do attend deserve more adequate facilities.

Plant and Resources

The church entrance flanked by a restaurant and the New Church Union book store on Bowdoin Street gives little indication of the substantial church edifice within. From the standpoint of eye appeal to the community this is most unfortunate. A ground level hallway leads back to the lower-floor rooms while a wide stairway leads up and back to the church auditorium. The fine gothic interior with high vaulted nave, paneled and carved balconies, central "repository" for the Word and sanctuary, stained glass windows and massive pews is beautiful and impressive. The seating capacity is 800. The large organ and choir loft are situated on the balcony at the rear. The minister's office faces the street above the entry doors and stairway. Downstairs the large vestry is fronted by a raised stage. A kitchen and parlor lead off the vestry at the rear. The building, now over a hundred years old is of sturdy brick construction. Extensive repairs were made several years ago, adhering to the original floor plan. Both exterior and interior have been painted recently. The consistent cleanliness and order of the interior is a distinct asset. As noted earlier, the floor plan does not lend itself to present recognized architectural needs for religious education.

In addition to the church building the congregation owns the five-story brick building flanking the church entrance on the north. Most of the ground floor is occupied by the book store conducted by the Massachusetts Association of the New Jerusalem. The upper floors are rented to residential tenants and the income accrues to the church. The two frame buildings just north of the church entrance, the nearest of three and the next of five stories, also belong to the church. The lower floor is leased to a restaurant at present and the upper floors are not used.

The 1949 endowment capital of the church was \$246,979 and income from this in the last fiscal year was \$8,748. The congregation is debt free. The most recent annual budget reported was \$14,753 for current expense as compared to \$13,581 in 1940, \$17,948 in 1935 and \$16,456 in 1930. The benevolence budget was \$324 in the last fiscal year, \$456 in 1940. Income from the contributions of members, offerings, etc., was \$5,024 last year, \$3,966 in 1940, \$5,066 in 1935 and \$4,616 in 1930.

Ministry, program, attendance

The Church of the New Jerusalem has a full-time minister, the Rev. Antony Regamey who has served it during the past fifteen years. His residence is in Waltham, his office at the church. The church also employs a stenographer and sexton full-time and a part-time church secretary and a treasurer.

Worship services are conducted at 11:00 a.m. Sunday mornings following the 10:00 a.m. church school. Attendance at the services conducted on the first three Sundays of October 1948 averaged eighty-seven per Sunday. Among pews seating 800 persons the worshipping congregation is scattered and few. The Church Committee is the planning body for church program during the year. The Standing Committee has the supervision of the real property and endowment funds. Both are elected annually by the Society members. In line with the experience of many New England churches it might be well to consider merger of these committees for more effective and integrated functioning.

There are four regularly-functioning parish organizations. The Ladies Aid Association has 53 members and an average attendance of fifteen. The Thimble Club has seventeen members and an average attendance of ten. The Swedenborg Fellowship is an organization for adult religious education with twenty-seven members and an average attendance of eighteen. Only the latter has male members and it enlists only four men. The Young Peoples' Fellowship of five boys and eight girls has an average attendance of nine. The total average attendance of fifty-two, even discounting some probable overlapping among the groups, represents a small proportion of the church membership participating in any parish activity apart from the weekly church services. This is generally characteristic of a central-city church serving a widely scattered constituency, but the consequences of limited fellowship, limited function, and limited service both to the community where the church is located and to the church's members cannot be overlooked. In this instance the consequences to internal fellowship seem to have been largely overcome by family relationships within the congregation, well-attended monthly congregational dinners following the morning service and other regular and special events. The church advertises weekly in the Boston press.

Community influence

What has gone before has by inference supplied the background elements for this aspect of the analysis. The consistent participation of the pastor in the West End Ministers' Association and the occasional meetings of that body and of the Study Committee in the Church vestry, an

occasional united service, the few resident members and church school pupils--these constitute the major contacts of the church with the West End. The minister is not active in any West End community organization except the Ministers' Association. Generally the church and its membership and the community and its residents have little acquaintance with each other. There exists, however, a strong desire upon the part of the pastor and many members to restore "living reference" to the people living nearby and to find means for rendering effective service, in cooperation with all of our West End churches, to community needs.

The church has had a long-standing interest in developing special program and service to the many lonely older persons in the immediate neighborhood. The launching of such a program has been deferred during the course of the present study in the interest of common decision on a cooperative plan and division of labor. Location, resources and even the age and class pattern of the congregation are favorable factors in this possible new orientation.

In facing the problem of the isolation of the church in relation to the community, it must be recognized that some of the contributing factors may well be inherent in the character of the society while others are alterable. The church and denominational names are unfamiliar and have a somewhat esoteric connotation for most of the uninitiate. The strong theological stress and emphasis on Swedenborg's teaching is a limiting factor. While both these are probably essentially inherent, other factors would not seem to be so. The church entrance flanked on either side by a book store and a restaurant is probably "invisible" to many who regularly pass by on Bowdoin and Mt. Vernon Streets. This is probably true even though the twin bulletin boards at the entry carry attractive weekly placards in color announcing the sermon topic. The somewhat ingrown nature of the program and the lack of modern church school facilities are matters that may be remedied. Consideration might well be given to the remodeling and use of some of the adjoining property which already belongs to the congregation for providing all or part of the following assets: (a) a more eye-catching and attractive (in the full sense of that word) front in the public view, (b) modern religious education facilities, (c) parish house facilities, (d) a ground floor reading room inviting public use. It might be well to consider the development of a properly-supervised program for making the church available for worship and meditation during the week.

Consideration also might well be given to active ministry reaching out into and serving the community. The needs of the West End call for many more highly-trained workers in specialized fields than are now available. The resources of the Church of the New Jerusalem give them a real opportunity to undertake an active share in a cooperative plan for Christian service to their West End neighbors.

2. The Church of the Advent

Year Organized 1844

Present Building Since 1880

Communicants, 1949 947
Communicants, 1940 654

Communicants, 1930 1570
Communicants, 1920 Not reported

As we have seen this church began "in a hall on Merrimack Street," succeeded the Congregationalists in the Bowdoin Street "stone house" and in the latter half of the century took up residence at its present site on the corner of Mt. Vernon and Brimmer Streets near the Embankment. Here the church has prospered as the outstanding Greater Boston center of Anglo-Catholicism. The membership is drawn from a wide arc around Boston, attracted by the sacramental ministry of the church and the liturgical beauty of the services. As a matter of fact, no census conducted by the Department of Research and Strategy in the Greater Boston area has failed to reveal some members or attendants at the Church of the Advent.

The substantial property valued at nearly \$700,000 in the current yearbook, and extending along Mt. Vernon and Brimmer Streets includes a rectory, a parish house and "Moseley Hall" as well as the large brick church edifice. The membership figures given above and other figures used in this section and the one following are derived from the annual Journals of the Diocese of Massachusetts. Although the Church of the Advent and the Mission Church of St. John the Evangelist shared in the initiation and support of the present study, it was the joint decision of the clergy of the two churches that much of the information asked in the schedules used by other of the churches was not within their power to release in view of the exceptional nature of their ministry. Analysis such as that made in the case of the Church of the New Jerusalem is obviously impossible in these circumstances. In fact interpretation even of those yearbook figures available must be left to the clergy and laity who have knowledge of the background of the figures reported to the Diocese.

An outgrowth of the Oxford Movement in England, popularly known as the "Catholic Revival," the Church of the Advent regards itself as Catholic without the Roman superimpositions, as standing in the main stream of "the one, holy, catholic and apostolic church." A sharp distinction is made between this position and that of all persons and groups accepting the Protestant label. It was this viewpoint held by two of the West End churches concerned that led to the use of the "Protestant and Episcopal" covering designation in the present study. Major differences from Roman Catholicism are refusal to recognize the papacy, conduct of services in the familiar tongue and rejection of mariolatry. Masses, confession, the use of candles, prayer forms, vestments follow what is regarded as the true Catholic tradition. An aspect of this is the dominantly sacramental character of the ministry rendered. Of the 947 communicants last reported, 143 were in church-affiliated family groups, 601 were related to the church only as individuals. The distinctive character of this church has drawn to it persons of like mind from all parts of Greater Boston. Once again the centrality of the West End and the prestige of Beacon Hill are important factors in the church location. The primary concern is not with the neighborhood, its people or its problems. The church has a wider ministry.

Considerations of median rent led to the selection of the block on which the Church of the Advent is located as one of those canvassed as

typical of Beacon Hill. Of 138 adults with whom contact was made, ninety-seven were Protestant and Episcopal. Almost half (forty-eight) of these were Episcopal but, significantly, only one-third of these (sixteen) were affiliated by membership or attendance with the Church of the Advent. The ministry of the church would seem to be limited not only to Episcopalians, but among Episcopalians. Another "typical" Beacon Hill block bordering on the Back of Beacon Hill neighborhood yielded almost identical ratios. One other set of facts about these blocks is of interest both to the Church of the Advent and generally. In the first block only two other adults claiming Protestant or Episcopal affiliation attended any West End church. These two went to St. John the Evangelist. In the second block St. John's claimed two, First Methodist five and Advent seven. The remaining twenty-three attended outside the West End or not at all. All other samplings on Beacon Hill were in line with the first finding. Extremely few Beacon Hill people attend any West End church except Advent. (The Charles Street Meeting House was not functioning as a church at the time of the canvass.) The reverse is almost equally true---very few Advent members or attendants were found beyond the boundaries of the Beacon Hill neighborhood.

Even without analysis of the membership records, the canvass data is sufficient to demonstrate that a very small proportion of the large constituency of the Church of the Advent is resident on Beacon Hill.

A much higher proportion of West End residents are among the children on the church school roll. The list prepared by Father Hale indicates that thirty-four of a total of eighty-eight children served are from families resident in the West End. Only one of these children comes from the Back of Beacon Hill, the rest all have Beacon Hill residence. Earlier church school totals reported were thirty-four for 1940, forty-seven for 1930 and 150 in 1920.

The most recent listing of annual current expenditure was nearly \$70,000. The 1920 endowment was close to a quarter of a million dollars. The church is served by the Rev. Whitney D. Hale as rector with two priests as assistants and a sister of the Society of St. Margaret as parish visitor. Obviously, if any part of the substantial resources of this church could be brought to bear on West End problems and needs, the cooperative attack on them could be greatly strengthened. Father Hale has expressed concern for finding avenues for making his church more relevant to its community and it is to be hoped that the present study and the subsequent development of program will make this possible.

3. The Church of St. John the Evangelist

Year Organized 1882

Present Building Since 1882

Communicants, 1949 787

Communicants, 1930 975

Communicants, 1940 1254

Communicants, 1920 702

The Society of St. John the Evangelist was founded at Cowley St. John (hence the common appellation of "Cowley Fathers"), near Oxford in England in 1865. The society is the oldest existing community for men in the Anglican Communion. The American congregation was organized in 1870. The

Mother House is the Monastery of St. Mary and St. John at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Priests accept permanent vows of poverty and chastity. The "mixed life," i.e., devotion to both worship and work, is enjoined upon the priests. This is the group that launched a mission church, succeeding the Church of the Advent, on Bowdoin Street. Ownership and the determination of policy rest entirely with the society, whose priests are the only voting members, and not with the local congregation. This non-resident control, which includes replacement of the functioning clergy at any time, renders the development of a consistent pattern of local cooperation with other churches and agencies difficult. Such a change of resident clergy occurred during the period of the present study.

The difficulty is increased by the highly specialized, central-church character of St. John the Evangelist. Once again we found no way of improving upon the Woods group's description published in 1902:

The Church of St. John the Evangelist, with its monastic clergy, holds a unique place among the Episcopal churches of Boston. From the character of its worship and discipline, it appeals to Episcopalians of extreme ritualistic tendencies scattered throughout the city. Thus it is the church of a special class rather than of a particular locality.

The sacramental and, therefore, individual character of the ministry rendered is, as in the case of Advent, stressed by a breakdown of the membership figures. There are 112 families and 505 individuals not included in families on the church roll.

Yet, despite the specialized character of the church, it was St. John the Evangelist which the 1902 survey found to be outstanding in "establishing vital points of contact with its neighborhood" through its St. Augustine mission to the Negroes of the West End. There was then no insurmountable theological or formal barrier to the development of an active and effective community program. The Cowley Fathers were wise enough to allow their Negro mission to follow the people concerned, and the Church of St. Augustine and St. Martin's on Lenox Street in Roxbury gives a 1949 report of 553 communicants and 227 in the church school. The work remains a mission project of the Society of St. John the Evangelist.

Unfortunately, no West End project meeting other resident needs succeeded St. Augustine's and gave outreach and community relevance to the Society's mission there. A limited number of West End adults are drawn into the congregation and the church school does serve fifty-one West End children out of a total pupil enrollment of eighty-three! Some of these children also attend weekday church school conducted at St. John's, apart from the Protestant weekday church school group in the West End.

The addresses of the homes of these fifty-one children given on the listing prepared by Father Pedersen indicate that none come from the Beacon Hill neighborhood. The very sharp social wall between Beacon Hill and the rest of the West End is once more emphasized. Advent, located in the Beacon Hill neighborhood, draws almost no local children from the other two West End neighborhoods while St. John the Evangelist, located a short

distance down the "back of the Hill" draws no Beacon Hill children although the viewpoint of the two churches is closely similar. All West End strategy must bear this "wall" in mind. The fifty-one St. John's children from the West End are drawn from the West End Proper (twenty-four) and the Back of Beacon Hill (twenty-seven). The very tangible physical barrier of traffic-crowded Cambridge Street is less effective than the invisible wall dividing the two sides of Beacon Hill. The 1940 church school report of 226 enrolled would seem to indicate a very heavy loss in this work in the present decade. Church school figures were not reported for 1930 and 1920.

The Sisters of St. Anne, whose convent is on Temple Street, do the sacristy work of the church, have oversight of several guilds, teach in the Sunday school, visit the sick, hold retreats for women and maintain a home for convalescent and elderly ladies at 15 Craigie Street, Cambridge.

It is to be hoped that the present study may suggest areas of service to West End need that may once again make it possible for the Church of St. John the Evangelist to establish more "vital points of contact with its neighborhood." The relevance of its church school is commendable.

4. The Charles Street Universalist Meeting House

This is the most recent addition to the churches located in the West End. The Universalists purchased the historic meeting house at Charles and Mt. Vernon Streets, completed in 1806. The Rev. Kenneth L. Patton was called from the First Unitarian Society of Madison, Wisconsin and began the gathering of a congregation on January 1, 1949. Mr. Patton has established residence in Newton Center. The church office is at 70 Charles Street and office hours are maintained on weekday afternoons.

Writing in December of 1949, Mr. Patton summarizes the present status of the church as follows:

The present membership of the church is right at 100. Not more than fifteen of that number are in the West End. The additional constituency is vague, but perhaps could be put at another 100. (For example, what do you do with University Students who participate?) The governing body is a board of trustees who are the chairmen of the functioning committees of the parish.

The present Church program: Sunday morning service, followed by a sermon forum; the Charles Street Forum at 4:00 in the afternoon on Sunday; College-Age Group on Sunday evenings; a Church School now meeting on Saturday; choir with weekly rehearsals; Universalist Club, a regional men's club now meeting at the Meeting House; church dinners once a month.

We propose to create various action groups in political action, service, adult education, etc. - to build a congregation around a grouping of action and education cells.

The Meeting House wishes to serve the West End in any manner in

which it can be useful. It already houses a scout troop and a Great Books Discussion Club, meetings of the Beacon Hill Association, and is open for any organization with civic or social aims. We would especially like to make contributions toward the solutions of such problems as slum clearance, juvenile delinquency, family and marital problems, child guidance, planned parenthood, etc. If there is a need and facilities are available, we would like to have a weekday nursery school. Our aim is that of a church also functioning in the capacity of a community center and settlement house.

5. Christiania Assemblia

This church, located at Garden and Cambridge Streets, is not one of those participating in the present study of the West End. It is, nevertheless, an active church in the area of study and its function and relation to the community and to the other churches is very relevant to the objectives of the study. The Rev. Gloster S. Udy, candidate for the S.T.B. degree at Boston University School of Theology, undertook a study of the church in partial fulfillment of his scholastic requirements. (1.) Much of the material used in this section is drawn from this source.

As the name posted before the church plainly implies, the appeal of this church is primarily to persons of Italian birth and ancestry. Italian language slogans and texts are prominent among the interior decorations. The Sunday morning and evening services are conducted in Italian as are Tuesday and Thursday services. An indication of recognition of the changing needs and desires of the younger generation is the conduct of the Sunday school, a Monday evening young people's service and a Wednesday evening prayer meeting in English. It was the conclusion of our observer at both a Sunday morning and a Monday evening service that almost all those attending were of Italian birth or parentage. Attendance at both services was substantial, the estimate of the Sunday morning congregation was 100, the Monday evening young people's service 120-130. The evidence of appeal to young people is especially significant. Sunday school attendance was about fifty-five.

Active membership is estimated by a local member to be about 300. Records kept are reported to be limited and were not available to our student observer. However, the observed attendance would seem to amply justify the figure reported. "Very few members reside within the immediate vicinity of the church. They come from suburbs such as Somerville, Watertown, Revere, etc." Some members living at a distance have initiated Italian Pentecostal congregations in their own communities. "Branch" churches are functioning in Norwood and Revere. These regard the Cambridge Street church as the "Mother Church" and frequently send delegations of adults and young people to the Cambridge Street services. This, clearly, is a "central church" pattern. The distances traveled by most

1. His paper on this subject is available in the files of the Department of Research and Strategy.

of those attending is given as the reason for the extended length of most services--the Sunday morning service is from 9:00 to 11:00 a.m. The argument for this was that since few come from the immediate vicinity, the longer service makes a trip from the suburbs "worthwhile."

The church plant is a brick building with a ground-floor vestry now undergoing renovation so that it may serve as a chapel for smaller groups. The main auditorium on the second floor seats about 350. A red drape inscribed in gold letters with the Italian for "Jesus-Savior" at the rear of the raised platform and pulpit at the front is the major touch of color.

The church is a self-supporting congregation with Pentecostal affiliations. Some young people are sent to Zion's Pentecostal School in Providence for training. The pattern and length of services and the observed practices are similar to those of many Methodist services, fifty or even twenty-five years ago. The use of gospel hymns, extended periods of free prayer and testimony by members, kneeling facing the pews, spontaneous interjection of such phrases as "Hallelujah," "Praise God" and "Amen" by members of the congregation, a protracted evangelistic appeal at the Monday evening service, emotional intensity--these are characteristic. There is some tendency to exclusiveness which with other factors mark this group as moderately sect-like. Communion is restricted to those baptized by immersion by the church or its branches. On the other hand, the fact that the senior Sunday school class uses the Uniform Sunday School lessons would seem to indicate a not too "hard and fast" denominational viewpoint. Neither Bible literalism or attacks on other groups were noted in the services attended.

Observation indicated, rather, that the group is more dominantly a national than a sectarian denominational one. Our student's conclusion was that a major function of the church was a "means of fellowship between fellow nationals, sharing the common values due to the common background from which the worshippers come, that is, Italian homes." It might well be added that these are Italian-Protestant homes, a minority group within a minority group, thus geometrically multiplying the need for comfort and security to be derived from a closely-knit in-group.

That this objective has been accomplished with exceptional success seems true. Meetings are well attended. The congregation is composed largely of suburban, middle-class families. The people are well dressed. This is in no sense a "mission." The church is self-supporting. Our observer was impressed with the sense of life, activity and self-confidence present in the services and in conversation with individual members. There was clear evidence that the members shared a common pride in and loyalty to their organization. The church conducts a monthly radio program on the fourth Sunday of the month and summer street meetings in English at Scollay Square and in Italian in the North End.

There were definite indications that the preservation of Italian culture values and the winning of younger generation Italians to this viewpoint were major emphases in the group. Prayers and phrases in the "English" services are frequently in the Italian language. The senior Bible class was urged to learn gospel texts in Italian for use in their

outdoor meetings where a "witness" pattern is followed. Conversation with one high school boy revealed that he was studying Italian. Clearly this emphasis appeals to that portion of the younger generation Italians (2.) whose reaction to their parents' culture values is a sympathetic "in-group" one, and at the same time strengthens this orientation in the young people attracted. The considerable numbers actually drawn are testimony that the "rebel" type is not the only potential source of Protestant recruitment among younger generation Italians for a central church willing to draw from a wide area. As a matter of fact the considerable degree of success of this church and its branches with persons of Italian background as compared to the too-often dwindling efforts of our cooperating neighborhood churches in this field should give serious food for thought. Whereas both we and many of our small Italian groups have often had a defeatist viewpoint on such work, the Assemblia Christiania is live, confident and expanding.

From the more immediate perspective of West End needs and strategy, the Christian Assembly has relatively little effect on West End life because it is essentially a central church with few resident members. If it could be persuaded to share in the present and proposed associations of our churches and to join with them in a cooperative approach to West End problems, this would be a gain for all concerned.

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2. See Protestantism in East Boston, page 20ff, our 1947 study, for extended treatment of the three types of younger generation reaction to Italian culture values.

Chapter 2. The Neighborhood Social Service Centers

1. Parker Memorial and Bulfinch Place Chapel

Year Organized 1826

Present Building Since 1869

Total Membership, 1949	54	Members from West End	20
Active Members	33	Per cent of Total	37.0
Inactive Members	21	Other Members in Boston	5
Male Members	20	Membership, 1941	125
Female Members	34	Membership, 1930	153
Child Members	0	Membership, 1925	223
Average Attendance	20	Per cent loss 1925-1949	75.8

We have seen that the present Bulfinch Place Chapel's Unitarian congregation began their work under Dr. Joseph Tuckerman on Friend Street, later removed to Pitts Street and finally built their present plant in 1869. We have seen also that at the beginning of the century the Woods' survey found that the church had "instituted a number of changes in the direction of a social ministry," although still operating from a substantial congregational base.

The transition in the present century is summarized by the present minister, the Rev. Ivan A. Klein, in these words--"Up until 1890 the morning congregation numbered about 150 and the Sunday school 250. But from 1900 on there has been a continuous decline in the congregation as well as in the Sunday school. The neighborhood consists now largely of rooming houses. The families have either moved away or died. Finally, the war broke up the small young people's group that was in existence. There was a time when it seemed the work here would have to be discontinued..."

The membership statistics for the second quarter of the present century bear out this summarization. Present membership is less than one-fourth of the total reported in 1925. The totals of thirty-three active members, twenty members resident in the district where the church is located, an average Sunday morning attendance of twenty, and twenty members listed as attending rarely or not at all--these tell their own story. Many of the active members are receiving old-age pensions. Mr. Klein cites "the lack of a 20-40 age group." Of the members gainfully employed four are classed as professional or semi-professional, eleven as "white-collar" workers and nine as skilled craftsmen. These twenty-four are the only members listed as employed.

The Church School

Enrollment	34	Teachers Resident in West End	3
Officers and Teachers	4	Pupils Resident in West End	33
Number of Classes	3	Children of non-members	26

The 1925 Sunday school report listed sixteen teachers and ninety-five pupils. The figures given above do indicate clearly that the Sunday school is genuinely a neighborhood project drawing on sources largely outside the church membership. Of the pupils twenty-three are enrolled in

the primary class for five- to seven-year old children. The intermediate class, ages seven to nine, has six children and the junior class, ages ten to fourteen, five pupils.

Just thirteen of the thirty-three children do not attend weekday activities of the Parker Memorial program conducted in the church building, while twenty are active in the weekday program. As will be seen, the total number of children engaged in aspects of the Parker Memorial program is much larger than the Sunday school enrollment. The fact, therefore, that thirteen children would seem to be drawn to Sunday school by other agency than the weekday program is of interest.

Plant and Resources

The Bulfinch Place Chapel, as its name implies, is on Bulfinch Place at the corner of Bulfinch Street. It is a brick building. The interior with the exception of the chapel was painted in 1947. The property seems to be in good condition. A lounge and reading room extends across the front of the building to the right of the entry. This is comfortably furnished and equipped. The children are not allowed to use the lounge except in small supervised groups. Observation indicates that this restriction is respected. At the same time the lounge tends to lend "tone" to the entire plant and underlines for the children the fact that they are entering a superior environment to that of their homes and the neighborhood. To the rear of the lounge is a large recreation room. On either side of the stage at the south side of the room there are alcoves so that several groups may use the room simultaneously. A small kitchen and the minister's study open off opposite sides of the recreation room and complete the ground-floor facilities.

The basement has been partitioned to provide three craft workrooms (one also used as a kitchen), a craft "shop" and storage room, and a fourth room used for girls' group activities. On the second floor there is a medium-size room used as a music room and another used for "story-telling" and other quiet groups. The rear portion of the floor is occupied by the chapel -- a nave with pews for 300 persons, pipe organ and other furnishing for worship. The chapel has seldom been used in recent years. The small congregations have been meeting in the main-floor lounge. A guest room completes the second-floor facilities.

The gymnasium, located on the third floor, is less than regulation size but adequate for younger children and for most athletic purposes. The gym is adjoined by shower and locker rooms. One other small room on the third floor is suitable for group meetings.

Total income from local contributions was \$1021.40 last year and ranged from \$787 in 1940 to \$1096 in 1930 in the years since 1920. This is a small fraction of the operating budget which was over \$13,000 last year. Both Bulfinch Place Chapel and Parker Memorial are major mission enterprises of the Benevolent Fraternity of Unitarian Churches. Subsidy from this source was \$12,000 or more in each of the last three fiscal years. The schedule response listed \$9,000 as the amount of subsidy in 1920, 1930, 1935 and 1940 which would indicate that this was the constant

figure over this thirty-year period. It would seem that operating subsidy since 1920 has aggregated more than a quarter of a million dollars. A part of this subsidy amounting to about \$4,000 per year in recent years, is derived from funds especially designated and restricted to work at Bulfinch Place Chapel and Parker Memorial.

Ministry, program

Bulfinch Place Chapel has the Rev. Ivan A. Klein as full-time minister. He has served this church for the last eight years. His residence is in the Back Bay. Mr. Klein has an office and regular office hours at the church. He serves in both the church and Parker Memorial programs.

The weekly worship service is held at 11:00 a.m. on Sunday mornings. As has been said, the service is now held in the main-floor lounge with an average attendance of twenty. The Sunday school meets from 10 to 11 on Sunday mornings. There are four parish organizations linked to the regular church program. Three of these, the Women's Alliance, the Neighborhood Club and the Luncheon Club serve the adult age group. The membership of each is drawn largely from the church membership and there is substantial overlapping among the three groups. The adult constituency reported for all activities, including church attendance, numbers only twenty-five persons not listed as church members. The Women's Alliance has forty members and an average attendance of twenty at its monthly meetings. The Neighborhood Club has some male attendance among the average of fourteen meeting twice monthly. Most are elderly and live alone in single rooms. The club purpose is social and the afternoon meetings usually feature a speaker or special entertainment. The Luncheon Club attracts a similar group for a noontime meal and entertainment. The choir provides a bridge between the weekday children's program and the Sunday services. An average of eight nine- to fourteen-year old children are reported as serving in the choir.

Parker Memorial

"The most important change in the church program since the war is the weekday activities for the children of the neighborhood." This sentence concluded the report schedule. Actually this work has become, since it was undertaken on an extended scale in 1946, the major work of the institution and its staff. It is for this reason that we have classed Parker Memorial and Bulfinch Place Chapel as primarily a neighborhood social service center. A six-day program serves six- to twelve-year old children in considerable numbers. The study group's list of active regular participants indicated that there were currently 277 children in this category.

In addition to the minister, six paid workers and some volunteers provide leadership for weekday afternoon and evening and Saturday craft, club and gymnasium programs. Music, dancing and supervised recreation are among the activities, as is a Girl Scout troop.

An analysis of the geographical distribution and of the religious affiliation of the 277 children listed as active participants is enlight-

ening. Addresses were listed for 256 of these children by the local study group. By census tracts, seventeen children came from F6 (eight north and eleven south of Cambridge Street), seventy-one children from H1, seven from H2, four from H3, ninety-nine from H4 (seventy-five north and twenty-four south of Cambridge Street), fifty-six from K1 and none from K2. Thus 165 or 64.6 per cent are drawn from the north side of Cambridge Street and ninety-one or 35.4 per cent from the south side where Bulfinch Place Chapel is located. Just 6.6 per cent come from F6, the tract in which the building stands, while 27.7 per cent are attracted from H1 where Heath Christian Center is located.

Clearly the leadership and program offered has a considerable and extended attractive power. The distribution should be compared to the distribution of children in the total population. The complete absence of Beacon Hill children is also notable.

The study group listing included a statement of religious affiliation for each child or, presumably, the child's family. Of the 277 there were 147 children listed as Roman Catholic. This is 53.1 per cent of the total number. Twenty-four were Protestant, 8.7 per cent of all active children. Ten children were listed as Jewish, 3.6 per cent of the group. For ninety-six children no religious affiliation was listed. It may be assumed that this 34.6 per cent either had no religious affiliation or that the affiliation was unknown to the child or to the Bulfinch Place Chapel staff. An interesting sidelight on this analysis of religious affiliation is that it differs considerably from prior staff estimates of the situation. The Roman Catholic proportion had been assumed to be 90 per cent of the total and had been so reported in the annual reports of the Benevolent Fraternity. In any case, the actual distribution indicates a successful appeal cutting across all religious lines. In part at least, this is doubtless a consequence of the consciously non-sectarian service aim of the Parker Memorial program. As early as 1902 the Woods group had noted that "this unsectarian work touches Jews and Italians." Parker Memorial continues to work under and in the true tradition of its guiding motto, "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister."

The question may well be asked, "Why do West End children living at considerable distances go to Bulfinch Place Chapel?" This was answered for the research staff in the course of repeated observation of the program in operation in the spring of 1949. Broadly the children have responded favorably to the plant, the leadership, the other children who attend and the program offered. When a child enters Bulfinch Place Chapel, he enters an environment distinctly superior to that of most of the homes, the other community houses and, certainly, of the general neighborhood. The church plant, maintenance and children's leaders combine to create an atmosphere of dignity, order and cleanliness without losing comfort, warmth or friendliness. The rooms are generally well suited to their program use. There is a genuine acceptance of normal children by the staff. The staff morale seems to be excellent and this has its reflection in the children's response. Small fees charged for craft and other special activities increase the children's appreciation of the worth of these programs. Finally, the children themselves, particularly the afternoon groups observed, appear to be a somewhat selected

group, above the neighborhood average in conduct, ability and responsiveness. Such a group tends both to attract others of similar character and to communicate its standards to newcomers. Most of the children were respectful and disciplined and, at the same time, were genuinely enjoying the activities they were engaged in.

Certain difficulties and needs might be cited. Staff turnover has been considerable during the period of the study. (1.) Most serve on a part-time basis. The salary scale tends to be insufficient to command specialized training or to create greater staff stability. Both these facts tend to limit the breadth and effectiveness of the service rendered. The greater needs of children who find it difficult to achieve group adjustment are largely unmet here, as at all the centers in the West End. There is no organized plan of parent participation in the program or of home contact with the families from which the children come. The somewhat scattered residence pattern of the children served and the fact that none of the staff are resident at the center, although one lives in the West End, makes home-center contact difficult. At peak periods facilities and staff tend to be overtaxed and discipline problems become acute. The plant lends itself best to small group activity.

A check of the list of children served indicates that fifty-five of the 277, 20 per cent, are also served by the Heath Christian Center (thirty), the First Methodist Church (twenty-three) and the Church of St. John the Evangelist (two) among our own group. Although detailed information is not available, the duplication of service between Parker Memorial and the large secular agencies is probably substantial. In the broader sense the general group work program and activities undertaken correspond to many closely similar programs offered the same age group by other agencies throughout the West End. While the success of this agency in children's work would seem to indicate the desirability of its continuing in the field, it might well consider staff training and long-range program planning looking toward a degree of specialization to meet the special and serious children's needs now unmet by any community agency. The agency's long-standing reputation for non-sectarian service would be a distinct asset if such a specialized program involved referral from other community centers and organizations.

2. Heath Christian Center

Year Organized 1911

Present Building Since 1925

The Bowdoin Square Baptist Tabernacle was still an active, mission-minded church in 1911 when it sponsored a Sunday school for the neighborhood in two rented store fronts on Staniford Street. The child proved more capable of adjusting to changing conditions than did the parent. The early work featured a children's club program and Italian and Russian adult groups. By 1924 the old quarters were outgrown and a campaign was

1. Comment on staff work in this section is, therefore, relevant only to the period of observation in the spring of 1949.

launched by the Boston Baptist Bethel City Mission Society to raise funds for purchase of a more adequate building. The St. Andrews Church property at 38 Chambers Street was secured in 1925 for \$85,000 and the "West End Community House" began work at the present site. The work has been throughout a project of the Baptist City Mission Society.

The ten-year directorship of John Halko, now Director of Research for the Washington Council of Churches, saw the building up of a trained and adequate staff and the development of a rounded and widely influential program. Mr. Halko was an early and enthusiastic participant in the work of the West End Ministers' Association and the West End Joint Planning Committee. He also pioneered in promoting sailing on the Charles River Basin. The first boats were built in the West End Community House. This has now become a major city-sponsored recreational project.

In 1944 the \$40,000 mortgage incurred with the purchase of the building was retired and the building rededicated and renamed as the Heath Christian Center in honor of Dr. Hugh A. Heath, long-time General Secretary of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention. During the course of the present study long sought funds for substantial remodeling were received from the national mission society and the work completed. This involved the conversion of the large chapel for use as an adequate gymnasium, the furnishing of a smaller chapel, and substantial changes on the basement level at a cost of \$18,000. The period has, therefore, been one of transition with some disruption of normal program activities.

The Heath plant is L-shaped. The long part of the L is a three-story brick building facing Chambers Street. The short part of the L was the chapel of St. Andrews Church. Sporadic efforts to gather a congregation have had no permanent result and the chapel has always been far too large for effective use as a worship center and, therefore, the space has been almost entirely unused. It is hoped that the fine new gymnasium replacing the large chapel and the needed showers installed in the basement will help to hold the loyalty of boys as they move into the middle and upper teens, and also may attract others in that age range. The new chapel is centrally located on the main floor directly off the entrance vestibule. On the ground floor, also, are the offices at the right of the vestibule, a small room equipped with a stage back of the new chapel, and the girls' recreation room. The renovated basement includes three small club rooms in addition to the showers, woodwork shop and pool room.

The central portion of the second floor is a large room used for the nursery and kindergarten. A small club room and office at the front and living quarters at the rear presently used by the kindergarten worker complete the second-floor facilities. The third floor provides staff living quarters and a staff kitchen and dining room. One room is furnished as a lounge and used for adult group meetings.

The Heath Christian Center staff compiled a complete list of the active constituency in the course of the study. As has been noted, this was a period of remodeling and some consequent transitional disruption of program. The totals are therefore somewhat smaller than for earlier years.

The active constituency served numbered 216 children and 91 adults, a grand total of 307 persons. Of these home addresses were listed for 206 children and 82 adults. Analysis of this data revealed that 85 per cent of both children and adults came from homes north of Cambridge Street. Just 12.6 per cent of the children and 11 per cent of the adults came from the south side of Cambridge Street. (2.) All of those who crossed Cambridge Street to participate in Heath activities came from Census Tracts K1 and H4. None came from F6 or K2. The close concentration of the constituency around the Center location is further emphasized by the fact that 53 per cent of all active participants live in Tract H1 where the Center is located and 21.5 per cent live in the section of Tract H4 north of Cambridge Street and immediately adjoining H1. Thus three-quarters of all the constituency come from these two sections. The total pattern of participant residence is a very compact one. This, of course, speaks well for the neighborhood service of the Center. The homes and families of almost all those served are close to the Center and, therefore, staff acquaintance with the families and family acquaintance with the staff and the Center is the more easily achieved. The distinct neighborhood character of the constituency should also provide the basis for real concern with and effective action on the serious social and economic problems the district and its people share in common.

Actually the director and the staff have had a standing concern for encouraging family interest and participation in the Center program. Sixty of the adult participants belong to the Mothers' Club and share actively in the program plans and program supervision for their children. Many of the fourteen men in the Men's Club are also parents of children active at the Center and their activity includes projects for improvement of the Center facilities.

The age grouping of the constituency drawn from the listing of 307 active participants is given below.

Age Group	Active Persons	Per cent of Total
Under 5	41	13.3
5-9 yrs.	103	33.6
10-14 yrs.	65	21.2
15-19 yrs.	7	2.3
20-29 yrs.	28	9.1
30-39 yrs.	48	15.6
40-49 yrs.	14	4.6
50-59 yrs.	1	.3
60 and over	None	.0

It is clear from these figures that the children begin drifting away after the ten-year age level and disappear almost entirely after they reach fifteen. The completion of the gymnasium since this listing is intended to meet this problem. The sizable representation in the twenty-to-

fifty age group is evidence of the effectiveness of the Center's stress on drawing in the parents of the children active at Heath. Older persons are not served. As has been seen, the West End Proper is not the center of acute problems for older persons and the concentration of emphasis at Heath on the child-parent age range is realistic.

While religious affiliation was not designated in the listing submitted for this study, a 1946-1947 analysis on this basis classed 81 per cent of the constituency as Roman Catholic, 3 per cent Protestant, 1 per cent Jewish, 5 per cent Orthodox, 5 per cent unaffiliated and 5 per cent unknown. The staff includes three full-time workers all resident at the Center. The Rev. Mario Cestaro serves as director and gives special supervision to the program for men and boys. He is a graduate of Ottawa University and Yale Divinity School and has had additional training at the Boston University School of Social Work. Miss Anna Aponis, a graduate of the Baptist Missionary Training School in Chicago is the director of girls' work. Miss Marion Ellen Kimball, who studied at the Baptist Missionary Training School and at Columbia University, is the kindergarten leader. Volunteer workers are drawn from local colleges, Baptist sources and from among the parents of the children active in the Center. Two boys from Gordon College serve as leaders three times each week and one Andover-Newton girl leads two sessions weekly. In all about thirty volunteers contribute leadership.

The program of the Center in the year during which remodeling was underway was as follows:

Sunday, 10:30 - 11:45, Sunday School, all ages. Nine classes. Enrollment, seventy-nine. Average attendance, fifty-six.

Monday - Friday, 8:45 - 12:00, kindergarten, four-to-five years.

Monday afternoon, 2:00 - 3:45, junior boys, fourth, fifth and sixth grades. Primary girls. 4:00 - 5:00, girls' art class.

Monday evening, men's group. Girls of junior-high age and older.

Tuesday, 2:00 - 3:45, primary and junior girls. Story hour. 4:00 - 5:00, girls' Bible class. Same time, primary boys, first, second and third grades.

Tuesday evening, 7:00 - 9:00, junior-high boys. Twice a month, mothers' group, 7:30 p.m.

Wednesday, "day off" for the staff. However, the kindergarten is conducted, and there are about fifteen older girls and boys for special tutoring in the afternoon.

Thursday, 2:00 - 5:00, junior girls and junior boys. Evening, junior and junior-high girls--downstairs. House Council once a month.

Friday, doll group, afternoon, 2:00 - 3:45. Service group and choir--juniors. Primary boys in the afternoon. Evening, junior-high girls and boys.

Saturday, 9:30 - 11:30, primary and junior boys, primary and junior girls.

There are additionally frequent special events and special programs. Forums on current questions, special classes for parents and other adults, operetta rehearsals, family nights, married couples' meetings have been conducted in the recent past. In the fall of 1949 the Heath Christian Center took a leading part in the campaign to provide chest X-rays for

every West End resident. Twenty-five mothers and seven fathers served as volunteer workers. The Center office became the real center of the West End campaign. Staff leadership and the family and neighborhood emphasis of the house made it the group that could "take hold" and carry through this important project.

A "House Council," drawn largely from the Mothers' Club and the men's group, meets monthly to plan activities and work out problems. The boys and girls groups also have elected committees to plan their individual programs. This democratic structure has proved a valuable integrating force.

The daily morning kindergarten for four- and five-year olds has a registration of fifty-three and a high average attendance. On the occasion of one visit, forty-three children were led by Miss Kimball while three mothers sat at a table at the other end of the room wrapping Easter eggs for a coming party. The children were thoroughly enjoying their stories and group games. Control was excellent and genuine child participation and choice was encouraged. Supervised sharing by the mothers in the conduct of the kindergarten is a constant practice.

The new chapel is to be used for Sunday school assembly, for special occasions such as class graduations and, probably, for forums. It will not be used for church services unless and until there is spontaneous demand for this from the neighborhood people. (3.) The fact that there is not now a resident congregation at Heath Christian Center points up a major problem. In spite of the strong evangelistic emphasis of the City Mission Society and of the successive House leaders, there has never been any effective congregational nucleus established. The 1944 rededication as the Heath Christian Center was symbolic of a major emphasis throughout the history of the institution. The act of dedication at the time included the commitment, "With faith that in it children of the community may come to know Jesus Christ as a personal Savior and that they may enter into an ever more triumphant life."

The basic dilemma here is that children won to Christian life through the conscious religious emphasis in many group programs and in the Sunday school cannot grow into normal adult Christian group life. The church, the characteristic expression of Christian association, is lacking. In occasional instances of conversion the children and adults concerned have been referred to Tremont Temple or to other churches outside the neighborhood. This violates the neighborhood ties and responsibilities and has been reported as seldom achieving any lasting result. As the family stress continues, this dilemma is apt to become more acute. A clear need is for the close association of the work of Heath Christian Center with an active local center for adult Christian church life. This need was recognized by

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3. Just prior to publication, in the late fall of 1949, the Heath Christian Center, on the request of some parents, began conducting eleven o'clock Sunday worship services with an average attendance of ten to twelve adults.

the local study committee and is expressed in the proposals for West End strategy attached to this study.

The renovations recently completed raise other problems. The Center has had marked success in work with small groups and younger children. The gymnasium is best suited to mass activity and an older age level. The small resident staff, already overtaxed, is faced with extended demand for leadership on new projects. The old values should not be swept away by the flood of new demands. The gym supervision would seem to require an additional full-time leader.

The relation of the Heath program to the total community services and needs is another problem area. The staff has given serious consideration to a revision of its present summer program. In common with almost all the West End institutions most activities have been suspended during the summer months. Except for a three-week Vacation Bible School the Center has been closed. Two weeks are assigned to staff vacation and three to the summer camp. Inasmuch as many children, especially older children and young people, and many adults remain in the West End throughout all, or almost all, of the summer period, it would seem advisable to seek a greater maintenance of local activity during this period on the basis of cooperative agreement with other agencies.

Of the 220 children served by Heath Christian Center, thirty also take part in Bulfinch Place Chapel programs, two are served by the First Methodist Church and seven by the Church of St. John the Evangelist.

3. Salvation Army Day Nursery

This specialized neighborhood social service center has already been discussed in Chapter IV under the heading of Children's Day Care. It need only be noted here that this project and the West End Corps of the Salvation Army are entirely distinct projects. As has been noted the Nursery is excellently staffed and is in many ways a model project in this field. The \$18,115 budget is the largest for any of our agencies in the West End aside from the central-city churches. It exceeds the budget of the Sunnyside Day Nursery but is substantially lower than that of the other secular agencies, the Peabody House, the West End House and the Burroughs Newsboys' Foundation.

Chapter 3. The Neighborhood Churches

1. The First Methodist Church (1.)

Year Organized 1792 (North End)		Present Building Since 1873	
Total Membership, 1949	254	Official Board from West	
Active Members	152	End	25
Inactive Members	102	Per cent of Total	71.4
Male Members	97	Membership, 1940	271
Female Members	157	Membership, 1930	433
Child Members	12	Membership, 1920	362
Permanently non-resident	36	Per cent loss 1920-1949	29.8
Members from West End	131	Per cent loss 1930-1949	41.3
Per cent of Total	51.6	Additional Constituency,	
Per cent of Active Members	65.8	1949	361
Members Elsewhere in Boston	44		
Per cent of Total	17.3		

The present First Methodist Church resulted from a merger of West and North End congregations consummated in 1873. The North Russell Street Methodists began their work in the first half of the last century. In 1865 they purchased the present building on Temple Street from the Grace Episcopal Church. The building itself was completed in 1836. The relocated congregation took over the Episcopalian church name and operated eight years as Grace Methodist Church. The First Methodist congregation after eighty years of dynamic evangelical work in the North End, fled the commercial and immigrant invasion and united with the Grace congregation to form the present First Methodist Church.

The long Methodist history in the West End is one of constant adaptation to changing environment. Begun as a neighborhood church in a solid and substantial family neighborhood, the church had become by 1900 the central church for Boston Methodism boasting "the most outstanding group of laymen to be found in any Methodist Church." The Woods group, concerned for the welfare of the West End, noted that the church although "fairly prosperous--touches at only a few points the life of the neighborhood in which it worships."

Through the last fifty years the church's ministers and lay leaders have also been aware of the need for serving the neighborhood. The present century has witnessed a shift from efforts to retain standing as the central church of Boston Methodism to increasing concern for neighborhood roots and neighborhood service. Early in the century Dr. Gilbert established the Beacon Hill Community Center, Incorporated, as the agency for a seven-day institutional church program serving West End needs. Temple

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1. The relatively extended treatment of First Methodist is occasioned by the several distinct congregations involved and the fact that at present this church has a social service program and a specialized institution in Temple Hall as well as a full "church" program.

Hall was purchased as a home for working women and girls. High hopes were pinned on the National Centenary movement just after World War I. First Methodist was to be given a modern plant and staff adequate to the community need. The collapse of this campaign was a hard blow, but the ministers and congregation have continued to work for increasing neighborhood relevance.

An analysis of the membership and constituency lists submitted by the church's study group indicate real and substantial success in building up strong neighborhood ties. The 131 members resident in the West End are a much larger local group than that claimed by any other of our churches in the area. While West End people constitute only slightly more than half the total membership, they make up almost two-thirds of the active membership. The sharp change from the central-church emphasis of 1900 is perhaps most clearly demonstrated in the fact that twenty-five of thirty-five official board members are drawn from the West End itself. Analysis of the residence of the 361 persons in the active constituency is also favorable from this point of view. Sixteen of the eighteen Sunday school teachers and officers live in the West End. More than three-fourths (76.7 per cent) of the 146 Sunday school pupils live in the West End. Without duplication with the church membership and Sunday school rolls, 76.3 per cent of the additional members of church organizations and over 90 per cent of regular church attendants not otherwise listed are from the West End. The total of West End persons active in the church program, exclusive of church and Sunday school members, is 205. These substantial numbers and favorable proportions clearly establish the First Methodist Church as the outstanding center of neighborhood ministry among our churches in the West End at the present time.

The church has recently set up an associate member category which allows the individual to maintain a non-resident affiliation (often to another denomination) elsewhere while sharing all the rights and privileges of regular members. The eight persons in this classification are not included in the membership totals but are counted in the paragraph above as constituents. This device may be of some aid in winning active affiliation from non-Methodists in the neighborhood.

The table at the head of the next page presents a detailed analysis of the residence of all church members. It indicates that of the membership resident in the West End, 71 per cent live south of Cambridge Street, 29 per cent north of that dividing artery. The members from the northern portion of the area are less active than those from the southern portion where the church is located. Persons from north of Cambridge Street make up just 20 per cent of the active membership from the West End but they constitute 58.1 per cent of the inactive members in this district. The increasing proportion of inactive members as distance of residence from the church lengthens should be noted. The total of 123 members living outside the West End contribute 34.2 per cent of the active total and 69.6 per cent of all inactive members. Put another way, 23.7 per cent of the West End members are inactive, while 57.7 per cent of those living outside the West End are not active. Although the total of twenty-one members (fourteen active, seven inactive) seems a sizable delegation from Tract K2, "proper Beacon Hill," all except three of this total come from

TABLE 8

Place of Residence of 254 Members of the First Methodist Church

Place of Residence	All Members	Active Members	Inactive Members
West End	131	100	31
Tract F6*	9	8	1
Tract H1	30	14	16
Tract H2	4	2	2
Tract H3	3	3	0
Tract H4**	31	30	1
Tract K1	33	29	4
Tract K2	21	14	7
Other Boston	44	26	18
Other Massachusetts	52	24	28
Out of State	22	2	20
Foreign Countries	3	0	3
Address Unknown	2	0	2
Total	254	152	102
* All south of Cambridge Street			
** All except one south of Cambridge Street			

the borderline fringe of Myrtle and Pinckney Streets. The invisible barrier between the south and north slopes of Beacon Hill is, once more, more nearly impenetrable than is the busy traffic lane dividing the Back of Beacon Hill from the West End proper.

There are 157 women and 97 men on the membership roll. The women, therefore constitute 61.8 per cent of the total membership. The total constituency has a similar sex distribution, 64.4 per cent are female, 35.6 per cent male among the 615 children and adults active in the church program.

Membership loss has aggregated 29.8 per cent since 1920. The fact that 1930 membership was higher than that of 1920 reflects a concerted and subsidized drive at that time. Membership has been nearly stable in the present decade. Twenty-six members were added in the twelve months preceding the church committee's report, twenty-three of these by confession of faith, three by transfer from other churches. To a considerable degree the overall "loss" may reflect a more realistic elimination of purely nominal members.

The table heading the next page gives a comparison of the occupational distribution of the employed members of First Methodist Church as compared to the city, the area and the two tracts from which the most church members are drawn. The church is located in Census Tract H4.

From this it appears that the occupational distribution of the First

TABLE 9

Occupational Distribution in Boston, the
West End, Selected Census Tracts, and Among
Members of the First Methodist Church

Occupation	Boston 1940(%)	West End 1940(%)	K1 1940(%)	H4 1940(%)	First Meth. 1949 (%)
Operatives, Laborers Seeking Work, On Relief	19	16	10	23	15
Clerical, Sales	20	18	15	24	--
Craftsmen, Foremen	22	19	29	16	19
Service Workers, Domestics	10	7	8	8	20
Proprietors, Managers, Officials	14	18	15	19	10
Professional, Semi- professional	6	6	6	4	12
	8	15	18	5	23

Methodist membership, although not wholly reflecting the pattern of the community setting, is, nevertheless far broader and more inclusive than the membership of many other inner-city churches is found to be. Every grouping except the unemployed is represented substantially. The differing economic situation accounts largely for the one omission. Upon this criterion the First Methodist Church has a very commendable record and an established basis for reaching and serving all occupational groups in the neighborhood.

A comparison of the First Methodist "population pyramid," constructed from the total constituency with the corresponding configuration of the West End population shown on Chart 22 reveals both similarities and differences. The Methodist "pyramid" heads the next page.

Both are relatively solid structures but both, also, are more nearly rectangles standing on their shorter sides than the ideal equilateral triangles. The West End has an even balance between the sexes, the church bulges on the female side. The achievement of a truer sex balance and of a wider base on all the levels under the forty-year line should be major objectives of local church planning. It remains true, that this configuration is relatively healthy and compares favorably with those of other churches in transition areas that have been encountered in this and earlier studies undertaken by the Department of Research and Strategy. However, this "pyramid" does indicate need for an increased rate of child evangelism (hindered by its present location in relation to the center of child population) and also of "middle-age" evangelism because many children and youth will probably leave the neighborhood upon attaining maturity.

TOTAL CONSTITUENCY
OF THE FIRST METHODIST CHURCH

Age	MALE	FEMALE
70 and over	2	10
60-69	25	50
50-59	28	62
40-49	30	48
30-39	35	52
20-29	27	49
10-19	37	70
Under 10	34	53

The Church School

Enrollment	164	Teachers Resident in West End	16
Officers and Teachers	18	Pupils Resident in West End	112
Number of Classes	10	Children of Non-members	61

Conference yearbook reports indicate a total Sunday school enrollment of 186 in 1940, 298 in 1930 and 296 in 1920. The loss in total enrollment since 1920 aggregates 44.6 per cent. Nearly three-fourths (73.2 per cent) of the Sunday school enrollment consists of persons under twenty years of age. The detailed analysis of age groups served by the Sunday school indicates that twenty-nine were under five years of age, forty-four were from five-to-nine years old, twenty-one from ten-to-fourteen years, twenty-six from fifteen-to-nineteen years, ten from twenty-to-twenty-nine years, six from thirty-to-thirty-nine years, five from forty-to-forty-nine years, four from fifty-to-fifty-nine years, thirteen from sixty-to-sixty-nine years and five over seventy years of age. (Age not listed for one)

Almost 90 per cent of the teachers and officers and 76.7 per cent of the pupils were resident in the West End. Of the 112 West End pupils, 72 per cent lived south of Cambridge Street and 27 per cent north of that

artery, proportions almost identical with the corresponding ones for church members. By census tracts the distribution was as follows:

South of Cambridge Street

F6 7
K1 42
K2 11
H4 21

North of Cambridge Street

H1 8
H2 9
H3 12
H4 2

The local study group concluded that ninety-eight of the Sunday school enrollees also participated in the weekday program of the church. The sixty-one children of families without adult church membership speak volumes as to the outreach and neighborhood service of the First Methodist Church. The group constitutes more than half of all the Sunday school enrollees under twenty years of age. The winning of these parents to membership would seem to be a logical next step in the evangelistic program of the church. Attendance records for three Sundays in October, 1948 showed average attendance of only fifty, indicating need for more intensive work. Consultation with the Massachusetts Council's Director of Religious Education might be profitable.

All of the fourteen Sunday school teachers are high school graduates, five have college degrees. Thirteen have had "some form" of teacher training. Four men and ten women comprise the teaching staff.

Plant and resources

The stone-faced First Methodist Church building is 113 years old. While the present condition of the property is fair, the whole structure was built in another day and to meet other needs than those that the present-day congregation confronts. The large auditorium has pews to accomodate 450 comfortably on the main floor and with the balcony the maximum capacity is 900. The usual, or even the exceptionally large, present-day congregation, seems scattered and small in this setting. The auditorium was repainted in 1947. The basement parlor, large vestry room and kitchen rooms fall far short of modern norms for church and church school equipment. As with the Church of the New Jerusalem, all these rooms are overlarge for small class and group work. The church building is valued at \$190,500 in the Methodist study committee report.

The congregation also owns four houses, the parsonage at 39 Temple Street just below the church, Temple Hall, Sawyer Hall just across the street and Morse Hall at 24 Hancock Street. Temple Hall has two fairly large ground-floor rooms, one of which is used for nursery-age children and the other for Sunday school and weekday children's activities. The remainder of the building is used as a home for women. Forty-one double rooms and ten single rooms are employed for this purpose. Temple Hall in view of its function, which will be taken up in detail in the discussion of the church program, is tax free. The other three houses are subject to taxation inasmuch as portions of the parsonage building and Sawyer Hall, which provides housing for the assistant minister, and Morse Hall in its entirety are divided into apartments and rooms for rental. Valuations listed by the study committee were \$30,000 for Temple Hall, \$12,600 for the parsonage and \$32,500 for the other two houses.

Endowed funds total \$6,380 and income from this source in the last fiscal year amounted to \$650. The church debt is \$2,788 but there is also an indebtedness on Temple Hall. This was incurred as a consequence of the collapse of the Centenary movement and has been a considerable burden over thirty years. The amount has now been reduced to "about \$9,000."

Income from members for home expenses through regular and special offerings and gifts was \$8,555 in the last fiscal year, \$5,318 in 1940, \$5,512 in 1935, \$8,017 in 1930 and \$6,304 in 1920. A very large part of the support of the annual church budget of \$10,506 is contributed by a single donor. Subsidy aid from the Conference and other outside sources has fluctuated widely. In 1949 such aid was being paid at an \$800 annual rate, it was \$500 in 1940, nothing in 1935, \$3,333 in 1930. The amount of subsidy in 1920 was not known. These figures indicate a lack of consistent, long-range planning by the denominational authorities for their responsibility in relation to First Church. Except for sudden and brief spurts of concern at the time of the Centenary campaign and again in 1930, this church in the hub of the city ministering to great need in an economically handicapped neighborhood has been left to depend almost entirely upon its own meager resources. The consequence has been extreme handicap in the maintenance of adequate staff, facilities and program.

The dilemma here is one of the most serious facing American Protestantism. Need is apt to be in inverse ratio to ability to pay. William H. Leach expresses the problem in the April 1949 issue of Church Management, "Protestant churches have an instinct for following wealth. . . But there is not the rush for the opportunities to build and maintain churches in the poorer communities." In this instance there is real danger that our one relatively strong neighborhood church with a proven record of service to the Back of Beacon Hill and West End Proper neighborhoods may be lost entirely or, at least, its already limited effectiveness seriously impaired. In view of the fact that nearly 5,000 persons living within these neighborhoods appear to have some affiliation with the denominations cooperating in the study or have no church connection at all, this eventuality would be almost criminally tragic.

Ministry and Program

Dr. Arthur D. Stroud has served as full-time minister throughout the past seventeen years. For the same period he has been resident at the parsonage on Temple Street next door to the church. He has evidenced a constant and active concern for the problems of his West End neighbors and this has been reflected in the strong neighborhood constituency of the church and the general recognition of his service to the community at large. For many community leaders encountered in the course of the survey, the social concerns of our churches and "Dr. Stroud" were practically synonymous terms.

The assistant minister, the Reverend David Streiffeler, is a student at Boston University School of Theology. These two constitute the entire professional staff conducting the regular church program. Two ladies are employed for supervision of Temple Hall and a maintenance man and a janitor

serve all the church properties.

The principal Sunday worship service is conducted at 10:45. Attendance on the three test Sundays of October 1948 was 125, 105 and 103. An evening service was also conducted during 1948 but attendance was very small, averaging fifteen for the same three Sundays. This evening service was not continued in the fall of 1949.

The Sunday program is a full one. The church school meets at 9:30 a.m. Simultaneously, an Italian service is conducted by the Reverend Giuseppe Merlino. This Italian group is a distinct and independent congregation. The group, entitled the Italian Church of the Evangel has no denominational affiliation or support. Their outlook is in the evangelical Christian tradition. Functioning for the past thirty years, since 1939 as guests of the First Methodist Church, they list twenty-five active and ten inactive members and an average attendance of twenty. Only four of the members are resident in the West End.

A Ukrainian service led by the Reverend Conrad Kosak is held at 2:30 in the afternoon. This same group meets for a regular service on Tuesday evenings. Average attendance at each service is about thirty-five. Again, the group is distinct from the regular congregation. It has some Pentecostal connections. The congregation is self-supporting and makes occasional donations in return for the hospitality tendered. The pastor works full time during the week as an unskilled laborer.

Beginning in the fall of 1949, a portion of the Methodist Italian congregation formerly located on Hanover Street in the North End began 6:00 p.m. evening services at the First Methodist Church with the Reverend Armand O. Donaruma as pastor.

The Sunday program and planned weekday activity are continued through the summer months, in contrast to the practice of most West End churches and agencies.

First Methodist Church has eight regularly-functioning parish organizations directly related to the church program. There is a senior choir with twenty-five members and an average attendance of twenty-two. The junior choir comprises eight children between eight and twelve years old. The Women's Society for Christian Service has a membership of twenty-eight and an average monthly attendance of thirteen. The Wesleyan Service Guild for business and professional young women has thirteen members in the twenty-to-thirty age range. Mothers of children active in the church school or the weekday program are invited to the Mothers' Club where parental education is stressed. The membership of thirty-seven includes some mothers who have no other church connection. In 1949 a West End Brotherhood open to men of the neighborhood on a non-sectarian basis was launched, and twenty-seven men have been enrolled in the first months. Program stress is on civic and social neighborhood concerns. There are two youth fellowships, that for teenagers has a membership of thirty-five and the group for twenty-to-twenty-five year olds a membership of twenty-five. The framework of parish organizations is relatively broad, but membership and attendance figures and the number of constituents who attend

only Sunday services would indicate that much remains to be done in this area of church work.

In addition to the parish organizations closely related to the congregation, a weekday and institutional program has been operative since 1918 in the name of the Beacon Hill Community Center. A recreation and group work program for children and the conduct of Temple Hall for women have been the major aspects of this work. The children's program has waxed and waned through the course of the years. During much of the course of the present study the serious and prolonged illness of Dr. Stroud and other limitations of available staff resulted in a reduction of the program undertaken. Eight groups for such activities as boys' and girls' craft classes, folk dancing, a Thursday afternoon nursery for pre-school children, etc., were functioning. A working arrangement with the Charles-town Y.M.C.A. made possible use of their facilities and swimming pool and also provided a machine for Saturday motion pictures. However, in 1949 the Y could no longer provide the motion picture machine.

A high proportion of the Sunday school children and young people participate in the weekday program and the schedules submitted do not make a clear separation of the two rolls possible. This probably reflects the actual intertwining of the regular church and community center programs. The combined total of persons under twenty years of age served is 221. Most of the children are in the six-to-twelve age range. Direct evidence of the religious affiliation of the children served by the center has not been obtained, but the fact that the Mothers' Club includes nine Roman Catholic, one Jewish and two Orthodox women among a total of thirty-seven gives some indication of the probable distribution.

Group leaders are drawn from the ministerial staff, the lay congregation, university students and Temple Hall residents. Staff members expressed concern over the degree of overlapping and competition with similar programs offered by other religious and secular agencies serving the West End. The actual duplication found in relation to our own agencies involved twenty-three children who also attended Parker Memorial activities, one attending the Advent church school, four attending St. John's, two attending Heath Christian Center. Many children also attend the non-church centers in the West End.

It should be pointed out that despite the Beacon Hill Community Center title there is actually no building "center" devoted to this work. Groups meet in two main-floor rooms at Temple Hall, in a basement workshop there, and in the church rooms. At times in the past, consideration has been given to an elaborate remodeling of the church edifice to provide a gymnasium and other facilities for an expanded "center" program. The cost of these alterations has been estimated at \$75,000. The wisdom of this investment was questioned by the West End Study Committee in view of the following considerations: (1) although First Methodist pioneered in the West End in aspects of this group-work service, there are now several agencies rendering comparable service on a larger scale and with trained staff and excellent facilities; (2) staff efforts directed to this end are diverted from First Methodist's unique contribution to the pattern of our churches' community service, the maintenance

of a neighborhood pastoral ministry; (3) strong reasons for re-location closer to the center of the West End are re-enforced by the possibility of State requisition of the present site; (4) the alternative possibility of sharing the recreation and group work facilities of one of our other church-sponsored centers in the West End deserves full exploration.

Temple Hall was founded as a home for young working women. Objectives were to provide safe refuge in the central city and rentals at low rates to serve the poorer economic group. At the present time sixty-two women and girls are resident in Temple Hall. Rentals range from \$4.50 to \$7 per week per person, including kitchen privileges. In the course of the years, the requirement that tenants be working women has been relaxed as has the restriction to younger women. Among the tenants there are now more older women than young women and there is some friction between the two groups. A considerable number of the younger women are university students. The house now functions simply as a respectable rooming house restricted to women residents and charging moderate rates. There is no program of resident activities. The church is aided to the extent that the building houses the church office and three rooms used for the Community Center program. Several students giving part-time service to the church are also housed here. The heat and janitor paid for by Temple Hall rentals also serve the church building. On the other hand, the responsibility for supervising the matrons in charge of Temple Hall and for decision in the administrative and maintenance problems that arise in such a major enterprise now rests upon the minister and absorbs time and energy that might otherwise be devoted to the main objectives of the church program.

Community Influence

We have reviewed the statistical evidence of a uniquely extensive and close relationship between the constituency of First Methodist Church and all strata of the neighborhood population. It is true, also, that in the course of Dr. Stroud's ministry of nearly eighteen years he has been consistently active in the key organizations working for community concern and concerted action. Among these have been the West End Planning Board, the West End Council of Social Agencies, the Beacon Hill Association, the Family Welfare Society and the Visiting Nurse Association.

He has been loyal and active in the life of the West End Ministers' Association and over the years a genuine cooperation among our churches has been achieved that contrasts very favorably with the situation in some other areas of Boston. Dr. Stroud has had a significant part in the achievement of this, one of the most valuable assets in the possession of our West End churches. Continued leadership in the fields of community and inter-church cooperation may well be a major part of the contribution of the First Methodist Church in the years ahead.

Analysis

It became apparent in the meetings of the West End Study Committee and its sub-committee on strategy that for this church to survive and fulfill its opportunities for service in the West End, certain basic needs should be met. The analysis presented here reflects group sentiment and

underlies the strategy for this church adopted by the Committee and set forth in Part III of this study. The needs are (1) an expanded, adequately-trained and more permanent staff, (2) more adequate facilities than the 113-year old plant now offers, (3) additional financing for a long-range program of advance.

The mere statement of these needs presses a prior point of decision--staff, facilities, finances for what purpose? The needs of the West End or even of its estimated 8,100 non-Roman, non-Jewish inhabitants are too great and too diverse to be met by any one institution. Some division of responsibility and labor is inevitable, our objective should be to seek the most effective possible division. As has been seen the history of First Methodist has been one of continuous adjustment to changing conditions. One by-product has been a certain amount of "culture lag" so that the present program involves elements deriving from the history of succeeding emphases on service as a central church, an institutional church and a neighborhood church. The occasion of the present study may well be used for seeking a total re-assessment of present program and a clear definition of future major purposes.

As related to First Methodist, our study indicates first that the number of persons potentially available to a strategically located, neighborhood-oriented church is surprisingly large. Even though it probably should be granted that the central churches in the West End and the downtown and Back Bay areas are serving and will continue to serve most of our potential constituents in Census Tract K2, "proper Beacon Hill," there remain an estimated 3,260 persons with some present affiliation with our churches and denominations and an estimated 1,571 persons without any church affiliation living in the remainder of the West End. We have seen that the strong social barriers that divide Beacon Hill from the Back of Beacon Hill and West End Proper neighborhoods result in very few of the non-Beacon Hill folk gravitating to the central churches. They are dependent for active religious life upon the churches in their own neighborhood.

Taking this fact as a major premise, the second proposition is equally clearly demonstrated, i.e. that the First Methodist Church is the only one of our institutions in the area with a predominant stress on service as a neighborhood church and with an established record in recent years of winning considerable numbers of neighborhood people of all social strata to active church life. As will be seen, only one other group, the Salvation Army, can be classed as a neighborhood church, and the specialized function and limited numbers of the Bowdoin Square Corps do not present the same likelihood of their serving as the major neighborhood church center. It would seem clear, then, that the one distinct and unduplicated contribution of the First Methodist church consists in its present service and its future potential as the major neighborhood church. The maintenance and development of such a church is close to the heart of all our work in this area.

If the needs of First Methodist for staff, facilities and finances are viewed from this perspective, a clearer view of the actual problems may be obtained. The staff of the neighborhood church should be primarily

devoted to rendering adequate religious ministry to the many people who are not now served. At present the ministerial staff consists of two persons, the assistant often a student with brief tenure. The present church program has required these two to serve not only as ministers but as innkeepers, bookkeepers, social workers, athletic directors, maintenance men, and as administrators over others performing all of these and many other functions. All of these tasks are necessary and desirable, but all can be done and many are being done equally well by others in the community. Only the ministers can bring to the people of the West End understanding of abundant life in the family of God. That is a full-time job and of supreme importance.

At present the ramified requirements of the institution make it difficult for two men even to keep the wheels moving, let alone reach out into the community and bring the good news of Jesus to those who need it most. Yet it is characteristic of the central city that we must "seek and find" those needing ministry, few can be expected to take the initiative in coming to us. The need is for staff, then, concentrating its time and energies on the main task of comprehensive and intensive religious ministry to the whole neighborhood. In a cooperative plan the meeting of other needs may well be referred to other resource agencies.

Clear definition of purpose serves also to shed light on the nature of the need for improved facilities. If the church is to concentrate its efforts on serving as the spiritual center for the neighborhood, it ought first of all to be at the population and geographic center of the neighborhood. For this purpose, as has been said, the neighborhood may be defined as all the West End except for Beacon Hill and the real center of population would be on Cambridge Street at about the place where the West End Library (once one of our churches!) is located. The present location suffers the handicap of being flanked at the north by the State House buildings so that almost half the ideal circle of potential constituents is cut off. At the same time it is inconvenient to most of the area north of Cambridge Street. Tenure here will continue to be dubious because of the constant possibility of State appropriation of this land.

If means could be found to make possible the move to a more strategic site, the problem of the plant desired could be approached without the necessity of fitting into the limitations of the present property. The spiritual center should itself center in a worthy place of worship that is at the same time not so large that the congregation is made to appear and feel small. A small, beautiful, chapel filled for two services is preferable to a large auditorium filled, at best, once or twice a year. There is the added advantage of lower initial and maintenance cost. A smaller chapel directly on the street open for worship at all times might well fit into a plan for a spiritual center in this neighborhood. Certainly modern facilities for religious education including small, attractive rooms for class and group meetings are needed. These are essentials to the central function of such a church. Cooperative arrangements with other churches and agencies might well eliminate any need for elaborate provision for recreational facilities.

Such a purpose and plan implies drastic changes in the present pattern

of operation and involves considerable financial cost. However, the importance of the function of such a church in the whole developing pattern of cooperation among our churches in the West End should justify and enlist the support not only of Methodists but of all our denominations concerned for improving ministry in areas of extraordinary need. The achievement of a basis for long-range local and regional financial support of such a project and its operating staff is in a real sense a test of the seriousness of our concern for serving the spiritual needs of central-city people.

2. The Bowdoin Square Corps of the Salvation Army

Year Organized 1884

Present Building Since 1910

Total Membership 1949	87	West End Membership	50
Adult Members	55	Per cent of Total	57.5
Active	35	North of Cambridge Street	46
Inactive	20	South of Cambridge Street	4
Male	35	Members Elsewhere in Boston	5
Female	20	Membership 1940	135
Child Members	32	Membership 1930	131
Male	13	Membership 1920	193
Female	19	Per cent Loss 1920-1949	54.9
Average Age (Adults)	40	Additional Constituents	50

The Salvation Army began the present work in the West End on Alden and Green Streets. The present quarters at 55 Cambridge Street have been occupied since 1910. The present work of the Corps is directed to two major objectives, each of which receives approximately equal stress. These are service and evangelical ministry to the transients congregating around Scollay and Bowdoin Square and service as a religious center for the Corps membership. The membership has a strong proportion of West End residents who are not transients but stable family groups. Almost all of them live north of Cambridge Street in the West End Proper neighborhood. Almost all of the seventy-eight children enrolled in the Sunday school and four of the seven teachers are resident in the West End.

The building used is a three-story one facing Bowdoin Square. Although the street facade has been modernized, the building itself is an old one requiring frequent repair. It is extremely narrow, only about twenty feet wide, and is flanked by high buildings so that artificial lighting is almost always necessary. The ground-floor auditorium opening on the street has a capacity of 100 persons and at present chairs for seventy facing the slightly raised platform and pulpit. The second floor has one room running the length of the building. This is used for children's work and the women's Home League activities. There is also a small office on this floor. The third floor provides living quarters for the two full-time staff members.

The current budget of the Corps is \$8,916.74 of which \$3,999.84 is assigned from the annual Salvation Army appeal and the balance is raised by the local congregation and three part-time solicitors. All expenditures are subject to the approval of the regional Salvation Army authori-

ties. A small fund for emergency relief is provided.

Lieutenant Catherine Blaisdell is in charge of the local work and she has one full-time woman assistant. The program may be divided into congregational and children's activities and those directed to the transients of the area. Primarily for the first group are the Sunday morning eleven o'clock service with an average attendance of twenty, the 1:30 p.m. Sunday school and the 6:30 Young People's Legion meeting. During the week the Junior Legion meets on Tuesday afternoons, the Women's Home League Wednesday evenings, the Sunbeams (corresponding to the Girl Scout Brownies) on Thursday afternoon and a boys' group Saturday mornings. The Sunday school teachers meet for teaching training on Thursday evening.

Open-air meetings and testimonial services are held in Bowdoin Square Sunday afternoon and evening and Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday evenings. The open-air services at 7:30 p.m. are followed by evangelistic services in the Corps headquarters. During the summer months two open-air services are held on Saturday evening. This part of the program is directed to the transient adults around Scollay and Bowdoin Squares. Some of the Corps members assist. No food is served and the Corps has no facilities for providing lodging. They do, however, refer some transients to the Salvation Army's Social Service Center in Roxbury. There is also some informal inter-referral between the Corps and other social welfare and church resources in the West End.

Our major problem is the limited work possible with present facilities, budget and staff as the Corps confronts the almost unlimited problem of transient indigents at their doors. The lack of means for effective follow-up of initial contacts is a serious handicap. Without a "center" where continuing effort can be made for rehabilitation and without even full-time male workers who would be able to visit the men in their lodgings, the effectiveness of the work is seriously limited. In the present economic period the difficulties are increased by the fact that indigent transiency is a matter of personal choice or of unusual personal limitation. Many approach the Salvation Army or other missions with the intention of exploiting them and not to seek a way out of their existing situation.

A second problem is real conflict between the interests of the two diverse groups served. The congregation of stable families with young children and the indigent transient adult individuals are not readily "mixed" in the same program. Social affairs for the congregation have been held behind locked doors and drawn shades to prevent the intrusion of intoxicated indigents. Use of the same limited quarters for such divergent groups may well be open to question. The effectiveness of the work with each group is limited by the conflicting needs of the other.

Chapter 4. The Store-Front Missions (1.)

1. The Merrimac Mission, Inc.

Dozens of store-front missions directed to the needs of transient indigent men in the area around Scollay and Bowdoin Squares have come and gone in the course of the years. Of these only two were functioning at the time of the present study, and only the Merrimac Mission at 107 Staniford Street has a record of long-time service in the area.

The mission was founded in 1899 and has operated under the superintendency of the Reverend George H. Eddy over the past thirty years. The enterprise is independent, although actively affiliated with the International Union of Gospel Missions. Control of policy and program is vested in a Board of Directors. Mr. Eddy is himself a member of Tremont Temple Baptist Church, as are some other Board members.

The mission is self-supporting. Four letters annually obtain sufficient financial return to maintain the work. The hall was originally located on Merrimac Street.

Both student observers who attended services and talked with Mr. Eddy gave very favorable reports on the conduct and value of Merrimac Mission. The store-front hall seating forty to fifty with a platform seating fifteen was described as "clean, freshly-painted, well-cared for." The windows were attractively decorated, the scripture verses on the walls newly-painted and clean. The "general freshness of the whole room" was striking.

Open services are held nightly at 7:45. The addresses are directed to the real problems of those present and impressed our observers as being practical, sincere and effective. A light lunch is served following the meeting and those regarded as worthy by the superintendent are aided in other ways. There is an eight-bed dormitory. Such clothing as is received is distributed, as is limited financial aid at the discretion of Mr. Eddy. He also seeks to give assistance in job placement and has secured employment and rehabilitation in some cases.

Mr. Eddy and his wife both live and work at the mission, aided by occasional volunteers from among the men served. Young people's "Gospel Teams" from Tremont Temple, Park Street and a few other churches sometimes conduct the services.

Mr. Eddy recognized the limitations of the plant and work of the mission in the face of the great problems of indigent transiency. He rejected any statistical claims of large numbers finding lasting religious

1. Student reports on the West End missions were prepared by Arthur E. Shelton, candidate for the Th.D. degree, and Douglas Reid, candidate for the S.T.M. degree at Boston University School of Theology. Much of the material in this chapter is drawn from their reports which are available in the files of the Department of Research and Strategy.

or social conversion. He did feel that the rendering of what help could be given to the individual needs of the people who came to him was a worth-while service. It was the judgement of our observers that Merrimac Mission, Inc. is a small but effective and essential part of ministry in this area and is worthy of the cooperation and support of all our churches.

2. The Rescue Mission

This store-front mission located at 41A Howard Street claims existence since 1939. It has no denominational connection and appears to be entirely controlled and directed by the Rt. Rev. William Mellit.

Mr. Mellit reported that he had taken training for the Baptist ministry but had then decided on an independent ministry. The title of Bishop is reported to have been self-conferred. Mr. Mellit reported ordination by and personal connection with Tremont Temple. The mission, however, is financially independent. In the earlier interview, Mr. Mellit reported fifteen collectors engaged in house-to-house solicitation for the mission. At the interview a year later, twenty collectors were reported.

The activity of the mission consists of regular Sunday and Wednesday revival meetings from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m., followed by sandwiches and coffee. The refreshments are often served to more than the fifty or so who can be seated in the hall. Transients are employed to maintain the hall. Distribution of clothing, limited financial aid and job placement are also claimed as services of the mission.

The independent reports of both student observers were inclined to be critical and generally unfavorable. "General impression (of equipment) pretty broken-down." Relations with the transients were described as "threatening," "rough" and "quite superficial." There seems to be no basis of accounting or responsibility in the administration of funds received.

PART III

PROPOSALS FOR WEST END STRATEGY

The following proposals were adopted unanimously by the West End Study Committee on June 9, 1949 after extended discussion of the community needs and the church resources available. The recommendations were based on full knowledge and discussion of the data presented in Parts I and II of this report. They are presented here without change by the compiler of the report, but with the conviction that the Study Committee has utilized the data intelligently and the hope that the group will follow the path of church adjustment toward a still more effective Christian ministry for the people of the West End.

It is to be hoped, also, that the development of a cooperative plan will enlist the support and aid of religious forces beyond the boundaries of the West End itself. In particular, the financial resources and lay personnel of the relatively "rootless" churches in the downtown and Back Bay areas could be of great aid in the implementing of the West End program. The Christian mission should be as aware of and as willing to serve dire need "on the other side of the road" as it is of needs at remoter distances.

A. Cooperation

1. A local council of churches, or its equivalent, should be organized in the West End. It should seek to enlist the support of all Protestant and Episcopal institutions in the area, drawing in representative laymen as well as ministers and staff members. This would be the principal agency for the development of an integrated Protestant program and for effective cooperation with all other forces concerned with the community's welfare.

2. There is strong need for increased cooperation among sectarian and non-sectarian agencies and institutions in the West End, and for increased participation of West End church members and ministers in the work of community agencies and institutions. Active and full participation in the West End Joint Planning Committee would seem to be a desirable first step.

B. New Church-sponsored ProgramsCouncil Projects

1. The proposed Council has a major responsibility in connection with the large number of potential Protestant and Episcopal constituents both north and south of Cambridge Street, including students, nurses and white-collar transients in rooming houses. In order to bring them into Christian fellowship and participation in the work and worship of the West End churches, it is recommended (a) that a complete religious census of the area be undertaken and (b) that a full-time, suitably-trained par-

ish worker be sought by the Council to work for all the cooperating churches in reaching these potential constituents.

2. While the age group from seventeen to twenty-five years is largely unserved by church and community agencies, it has provided its own store-front clubs with some social controls and constructive activity. The Council might well assist in the identification of these clubs with the whole community and in providing more certain stability and wider interests.

A continuing program of parental education is a community need that might well be met by the Council if other community agencies cannot be brought to sponsor an adequate program.

Church and Agency Projects

Our general goal to be accomplished after a reasonable transition period would seem to be a division of labor so that serious needs now unmet might be served through a greater degree of specialization. The by-product of eliminating present duplication and overlapping would be a net gain for ourselves and the community.

1. The Parker Memorial Center at Bulfinch Place Chapel seems especially suited to meet the need for therapeutic group work for problem children. The need is community-wide and largely unmet. Such a service should be non-sectarian and integrated in the total pattern of service to neighborhood children. The available facilities seem admirably suited to such a specialized program. The cooperation of both sectarian and non-sectarian agencies should be sought in making full use of the facilities. The abilities of the present staff should be supplemented by trained supervision and/or specialized training for therapeutic group work. There is also a wide-open field for opportunity groups for above-average children which might be undertaken eventually as a part of the Parker Memorial program.

2. The Church of the New Jerusalem has had a long-standing concern for more creative service to the large number of unattached older persons resident in the West End. That church has physical and financial resources sufficient to undertake major responsibility for such a program, employing a social worker, thoroughly trained in geriatrics, as group leader. The Church of the Advent might wish to share in support of this program as well as in the general Council projects. The Sisters of St. Anne, connected with the Church of St. John the Evangelist, might assist in this work as time might be spared from their other activities. They now maintain a home for convalescent and elderly ladies in Cambridge.

3. Heath Christian Center has a strong interest in, and has already had considerable success in encouraging full family participation in the center program. An increasing emphasis on experimental family work designed to strengthen family ties would seem to be highly desirable. The possibilities of family summer camping might well be thoroughly explored. Additional staff training might well be planned with this family emphasis in mind. A family approach offers more stability for the Center than

an individualistic approach and increased value to the community.

The traditional evangelical emphasis at Heath Center has been offset to a considerable degree by the fact that the center has no affiliation with a resident congregation in the West End by which it might offer a normal experience in rounded Protestant church life. Such affiliation would seem highly desirable. The philosophy and approach of the Heath Center and the First Methodist Church have been closely parallel through the years and are so at present. Close integration of the work of the two would give a church-social service combination of great value to the community, particularly so if relocation of the Methodist Church closer to Heath and to the center of the community could be accomplished.

4. The First Methodist Church has the largest resident constituency in the West End and a long record of community service. The continuation and strengthening of this service should be a major objective of the strategy. The primary function of First Methodist as a Protestant church for West End residents has been handicapped by restricted finances and by the distractions imposed upon the small staff by having them conduct the Beacon Hill Community Center and Temple Hall and administer a number of commercial real estate enterprises. Overhead might be considerably reduced and the service potential increased by teaming up with Heath Center so that the programs might be yoked and duplication eliminated. The present real estate might give a start toward a smaller, more suitable and more centrally located church edifice on Cambridge Street. Temple Hall might possibly be utilized in the work with the aged, or by the Protestant Guild for the Blind, but in view of the need for financial resources it probably should be sold for other uses.

5. The Salvation Army and the Merrimac Mission have been working in commendable fashion to meet the special needs of indigent transient men. The needs of these agencies and of this group should be thoroughly explored and the proposed Council should cooperate with the Salvation Army and the Merrimac Mission in providing a still more adequate program.

6. The newly organized congregation at the Charles Street Universalist Meeting House would seem to be admirably suited to play a leading role in the Social Action program outlined in the next section.

C. Social Action

1. Initiative and leadership from a local council of churches is needed for unifying the forces for community welfare to deal with poor and limited housing, inadequate school programs, health hazards and other serious civic problems of the West End. Cooperation with the West End Joint Planning Committee is desirable in all social action projects.

2. An immediate possibility would seem to be the establishment of a registry for the clearance of applicants among all summer camps sponsored by West End institutions, so that the available facilities may be used for maximum benefit to the greatest number of needy children and families.

3. Cooperative planning for nursery schools serving three-to-six

year olds in the West End is another need which a council might bring to the attention of the community.

4. There is a serious gap in the group-work program for the age group between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Joint sponsorship of teen-age store-front clubs by church and community agencies and by the store-front clubs for young adults might serve to fill this need and simultaneously provide constructive interests for the young adults.

5. A specialized need is that for education in parental problems for foreign-born fathers and mothers.

6. In view of the large number of aged persons of limited means living alone in the West End, a nursing home operated at moderate rates for the chronically ill who cannot be hospitalized would be a desirable resource in the West End.

7. There was recognition that most of the social problems could be solved by a reconstruction of the total living conditions in the West End, and to this end a demonstration project involving, perhaps, a square block was suggested as a social action project for which the churches and church agencies might give leadership in cooperation with the West End Joint Planning Committee.

APPENDIX

Family Name		Address				Census Tract Block No.	
How long at this address?		How long in the West End?				Floor Apt.	
Not Home-1st Call	Not Home-2nd Call	Vacant	Refusal	Roomer	2nd Card		
NAMES of		CHURCH MEMBERSHIP		CHURCH ATTENDANCE			
Adults (18 and over)	COUNTRY OF BIRTH	Church Name	Denomination	Last Mo.	Last Year	Church Denomination	
Mr.							
Mrs.							
M							
M							
Children under 18 (WRITE NAME OF CHURCH OR STATE NONE IN EACH SPACE BELOW)							
NAME	AGE	SUNDAY SCHOOL ATTENDED	WEEKDAY CHURCH	YOUNG PEOPLE'S		CHURCH MEMBERSHIP	
			SCHOOL				
Would you like to move out of the West End when the housing shortage is over? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No <input type="checkbox"/> Uncertain							
Why would you like to move? <input type="checkbox"/>							
Date _____							
Remarks: () Check and use other side							
Canvasser _____							

TABLE 1A - EXTENT OF THE CENSUS

Census Tract	Block Number	Number of Family Units	Number of Fami- lies Interviewed	Number of Unsuc- cessful Calls	Vacancies	Refusals
Total F-6	6	23	20	0	2	1
	9	20	20	0	0	0
		43	40	0	2	1
Total H-1	9 & 10	98	80	13	1	4
	15	90	78	9	1	2
		188	158	22	2	6
H-2	11	68	36	23	1	8
H-3	10	37	31	4	2	0
Total H-4	10	58	40	18	0	0
	22	51	47	1	0	3
		109	87	19	0	3
Total K-1	6	129	87	40	0	2
	9	68	34	32	0	2
		197	121	72	0	4
Total K-2	13	144	89	53	0	2
	27	72	52	19	1	0
		216	141	72	1	2
TOTAL (13 blocks)		858	614	212	8	24

TABLE 2A - AVERAGE AND MEDIAN MONTHLY RENTALS RE-
LATED TO THE BLOCKS SELECTED FOR CENSUS

(Rentals from 1940 Census)

Census Tract	Median Monthly Rent (in dollars)	Numerical Desig- nation of Block Canvassed (1940 Census)	Average Monthly Rent for Block (in dollars)
F-6	43.91	6 9	46.58 42.64
H-1	21.38	9 10 15	20.47 22.69 18.41
H-2	18.17	11	17.35
H-3	23.86	10	23.71
H-4	20.90	10 22	20.70 21.26
K-1	31.99	6 9	30.73 35.61
K-2	57.95	13 27	58.69 63.93

TABLE 3A - RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF 612 FAMILIES
BY THE BLOCKS OF THEIR RESIDENCE, 1948

Census Tract	Block Number	Total Families Reporting	No. of Roman Catholic Families	Per Cent Roman Catholic of Total Families	No. of Jewish Families	Per Cent Jewish of Total Families	No. of Protestant Families	Per Cent Protestant of Total Families	No. Other Religious Families (Orthodox, etc.)	Per Cent Other Religious of Total Families	No. Unaffiliated Families	Per Cent Unaffiliated of Total Families
F-6	6	20	8		2		8		1		1	
	9	20	17		0		1		0		2	
		40	25	62.50	2	5.00	9	22.50	1	2.5	3	7.50
H-1	9&											
	10	80	45		14		10		6		4	
	15	77	47		11		8		3		7	
		157	92	58.60	25	15.92	18	11.46	9	5.73	11	7.01
H-2	11	36	29	80.56	1	2.78	3	8.33	0		3	8.33
H-3	10	31	20	64.52	8	25.81	1	3.23	0		0	
H-4	10	40	35		0		0		0		5	
	22	47	35		2		3		2		3	
		87	70	80.46	2	2.30	3	3.45	2	2.30	8	9.20
K-1	6	87	29		16		31		1		9	
	9	34	17		3		10		1		3	
		121	46	38.02	19	15.70	41	33.88	2	1.65	12	9.92
K-2	13	88	15		2		63		3		5	
	27	52	17		3		25		0		7	
		140	32	22.86	5	3.57	88	62.86	3	2.14	12	8.57
TOTAL		612	314	51.31	62	10.13	163	26.63	17	2.78	49	8.01

TABLE 4A - RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF 1,108 ADULTS INDICATED
BY CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, ATTENDANCE OR DECLARATION,
CLASSIFIED BY BLOCK OF RESIDENCE, 1948

Census Tract	Block Number	Total Adults Reporting	No. of Roman Catholic Adults	Per Cent R. C. of Total Adults	No. of Jewish Adults	Per Cent Jewish of Total Adults	No. of Protestant Adults	Per Cent Protestant of Total Adults	No. of Other Religious Adults (including Sects)	Per Cent Other Religious of Total Adults (including Sects)	No. of Unaffiliated Adults	Per Cent Unaffiliated of Total Adults
F-6	6 9	29 22 51	13 19 32	62.75	2 0 2	3.92	11 1 12	23.53	1 2 3	5.88	2 0 2	3.92
H-1	9 & 10 15	181 142 323	102 87 189	58.51	32 27 59	18.27	17 11 28	8.67	21 7 28	8.67	9 10 19	5.88
H-2	11	75	59	78.67	1	1.33	6	8.00	0	0.00	9	12.00
H-3	10	62	43	69.35	17	27.42	2	3.23	0	0.00	0	0.00
H-4	10 22	59 101 160	53 80 133	83.13	0 4 4	2.50	0 7 7	4.38	0 3 3	1.88	6 7 13	8.13
K-1	6 9	154 62 216	55 32 87	40.28	35 5 40	18.52	48 17 65	30.09	1 2 3	1.39	15 6 21	9.72
K-2	13 27	138 83 221	24 25 49	22.17	6 5 11	4.98	97 36 133	60.18	4 0 4	1.81	7 17 24	10.86
TOTAL		1,108	592	53.43	134	12.09	253	22.84	41	3.70	88	7.94

TABLE 5A - RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF 315 CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS OF AGE INDICATED BY CHURCH MEMBERSHIP, ATTENDANCE, DECLARATION, OR AFFILIATION OF KIN, CLASSIFIED BY BLOCK OF RESIDENCE, 1948

Census Tract	Block Number	Total Children Reporting	No. of Roman Catholic Children	Per cent R. C. of Total Children	No. of Jewish Children	Per cent Jewish of Total Children	No. of Protestant Children	Per cent Protestant of Total Children	No. of Other Religious Children	Per cent Other Religious of Total Children	No. of Unaffiliated Children	Per cent Unaffiliated of Total Children
F-6	6 9	0 0 0	0 0 0		0 0 0		0 0 0		0 0 0		0 0 0	
H-1	9& 10 15	65 38 103	43 31 74	71.84	2 6 8	7.77	12 0 12	11.65	6 0 6	5.83	2 1 3	2.91
H-2	11	47	30	63.83	1	2.13	14	29.79	0	-	2	4.26
H-3	10	42	28	66.67	8	19.05	0	-	0	-	6	14.29
H-4	10 22	17 47 64	17 41 58	90.63	0 1 1	1.56	0 3 3	4.69	0 0 0	-	0 2 2	3.13
K-1	6 9	38 7 45	24 3 27	60.00	2 0 2	4.45	11 4 15	33.33	0 0 0	-	1 0 1	2.22
K-2	13 27	7 7 14	0 3 3	21.43	0 0 0	-	6 3 9	64.29	1 0 1	-	0 1 1	7.14
TOTAL		315	220	69.84	20	6.35	53	16.83	7	2.22	15	4.75

TABLE 6A - RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION OF 1098 WEST END ADULTS
BY PLACE OF BIRTH, 1948

Religious Affiliation	United States	Italy	Russia
Roman Catholic	430	80	7
Protestant	233	0	1
Sect	3	1	0
Orthodox	11	0	2
Unaffiliated	79	2	0
Jewish	65	0	46
TOTAL	821	83	56

TABLE 7A - CHURCH MEMBERSHIP OF 260 ADULTS (18 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER) WITH PROTESTANT AND EPISCOPAL AFFILIATION, BY GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF THEIR CHURCHES, 1948

Census Tract	Block Number	Place of Membership							
		Number Reporting	No. - West End	Elsewhere in North End, Back Bay, Downtown	Elsewhere in Boston and Environs	Elsewhere in Massachusetts	Outside Massachusetts	Undetermined	Without Church Membership
F-6	6	11	0	2	1	4	3	0	1
	9	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
		12	0	2	1	4	4	0	1
H-1	9&								
	10	21	13	2	0	0	6	0	0
	15	11	4	1	0	1	5	0	0
		32	17	3	0	1	11	0	0
H-2	11	6	3	0	0	0	3	0	0
H-3	10	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0
H-4	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	22	8	2	5	0	0	1	0	0
		8	2	5	0	0	1	0	0
K-1	6	48	16	4	1	2	7	2	16
	9	17	0	4	4	5	1	0	3
		65	16	8	5	7	8	2	19
K-2	13	97	14	36	3	12	5	0	27
	27	38	11	13	2	7	1	0	4
		135	25	49	5	19	6	0	31
TOTAL		260	64	67	11	31	34	2	51

TABLE 8A - CHURCH ATTENDANCE OF PROTESTANT
AND EPISCOPAL ADULTS, 1948

Census Tract	Block Number	Most Recent Attendance										
		Number Reporting	Last Month	Per Cent Last Month	Last 6 Months	Per Cent Last 6 Mos.	Last Year	Per Cent Last Year	Rarely or Not at All	Per Cent Rarely or Not at All	Undetermined	Per Cent Undetermined
F-6	6	11	2		4		5		0		0	
	9	1	0		1		0		0		0	
	12	2	16.70	5		5		0		0		
H-1	9	21	14		1		4		2		0	
	10	11	6		1		2		2		0	
	15	32	20	62.50	2		6		4		0	
H-2	11	6	2	33.30	1		0		3		0	
H-3	10	2	1	50.00	1		0		0		0	
H-4	10	0	0		0		0		0		0	
	22	8	6		0		2		0		0	
		8	6	75.00	0		2		0		0	
K-1	6	48	21		9		6		5		7	
	9	17	4		4		4		5		0	
		65	25	38.50	13		10		10		7	
K-2	13	97	52		20		11		5		9	
	27	38	27		7		0		4		0	
		135	79	58.50	27	20.00	11	8.15	9	6.67	9	6.67
TOTAL		260	135	51.90	49	18.85	34	13.08	26	10.00	16	6.15

TABLE 9A - INTENTION OF WEST END RESIDENTS
TO MOVE FROM THE COMMUNITY, 1948

Census Tract	Block Number	All Replies	Affirmative	Per Cent Affirmative	Negative	Per Cent Negative	Uncertain	Per Cent Uncertain
F-6	6	18	0		18		0	
	9	20	1		18		1	
		38	1	2.63	36	94.74	1	2.63
H-1	9&							
	10	79	24		55		0	
	15	78	19		59		0	
		157	43	27.39	114	72.61	0	
H-2	11	36	18	50.00	9	25.00	9	25.00
H-3	10	31	16	51.61	9	29.03	6	19.36
H-4	10	27	5		22		0	
	22	46	25		16		5	
		73	30	41.10	38	52.05	5	6.85
K-1	6	85	19		65		1	
	9	32	2		30		0	
		117	21	17.95	95	81.20	1	.85
K-2	13	83	4		79		0	
	27	49	0		49		0	
		132	4	3.03	128	96.97	0	
TOTAL		584	133	22.77	429	73.46	22	3.77

TABLE 10A - NUMBER OF FAMILIES RESIDENT IN THE WEST END
FIVE YEARS OR LESS TOGETHER WITH THE RELIGIOUS
AFFILIATION OF THESE FAMILIES

Census Tract	Block Number	Total Families 5 Years or Less	Roman Catholic	Per Cent Roman Catholic	Protestant	Per Cent Protestant	Jewish	Per Cent Jewish	Other and Sect	Per Cent Other and Sect	Unaffiliated	Per Cent Unaffiliated
F-6	6 9	14 11 25	6 9 15	60.00	4 1 5	20.00	2 0 2	8.00	1 0 1	4.00	1 1 2	8.00
H-1	9& 10 15	27 48 75	15 27 42	56.00	5 6 11	14.67	3 5 8	10.67	2 2 4	5.33	2 6 8	10.67
H-2	11	6	3	50.00	1	16.67	0		0		2	33.33
H-3	10	5	5	100.00	0		0		0		0	
H-4	10 22	18 10 28	14 6 20	71.43	0 1 1	3.57	0 0 0		0 0 0		4 3 7	25.00
K-1	6 9	57 17 74	22 8 30	40.54	19 8 27	36.49	7 1 8	10.81	1 0 1	1.35	7 0 7	9.46
K-2	13 27	50 25 75	8 9 17	22.67	38 11 49	65.33	1 0 1	1.33	1 0 1	1.33	2 5 7	9.33
TOTAL		288	132	45.83	94	32.64	19	6.60	7	2.43	33	11.46

TABLE 11A - WEST END COMPARED WITH BOSTON AND ITS OTHER HEALTH AND WELFARE AREAS FOR CERTAIN DEMOGRAPHIC, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS

Demographic, Social and Economic Factors	Boston	West End	Favorability Ranking Among 15 Health And Welfare Areas*
Gain or Loss of Population (%)			
1920-30	4.5	-31.1	15
1930-40	-1.3	-2.7	10
Children under 18 Yrs. per Household, 1940	1.0	.8	12.5
Native White Population (%)	73.2	69.8	12
Median Monthly Rent, 1940 (\$)	28.41	25.75	9
Rents under \$25, 1940 (%)	37.9	46.8	9
Home Ownership, 1940 (%)	20.9	7.8	13
Crowded Households, 1940 (% over 1.5 persons per room)	3.9	4.5	10
Density of Population, 1940 (persons per inhabited acre)	94.5	369.7	14
Seeking Work or on Relief (%)			
March, 1940	19.8	18.2	7
Median School Yrs. Completed by Persons 25 Yrs. and over, 1940	8.9	8.8	9
Tuberculosis Rate per 1,000 Population (1942-46)			
New Cases Annually	110.0	123.9	13
Deaths Annually	61.7	75.5	12
Infant Mortality (deaths under 1 yr. per 1,000 live births)			
1941-43	35.6	23.3	1
1942-46	35.5	27.7	2
Juvenile Delinquency (Appearances of Children 7-16 Yrs. in Mass. courts annually 1942-46)	16.0	35.8	15
Dependent Aid			
Case Load (March, 1944)	3,423	210	11
Cases per 1,000 population	4.45	7.7	13
Aid to Dependent Children			
Case Load (March, 1944)	2,081	79	6
Cases per 1,000 households	10.55	10.6	9
Old Age Assistance			
Case Load (March, 1944)	13,922	478	5
Cases per 1,000 population 65 Yrs. of age and over	228	213	11

* Favorability is ranked from number 1 as the preferred rating. The following are considered favorable: population increase, large number of children, large percentage of native population (1940 census gives only "native-white"), high rentals, home ownership, not crowded, not congested, high level of employment, high level of schooling, low tuberculosis rate, low infant mortality, low juvenile delinquency, little dependent aid or aid to children or old age assistance.

TABLE 12A - LENGTH OF RESIDENCE OF WEST END FAMILIES, 1948

Census Tract	Block Number	Total Families Reporting Length of Residence in West End	Average Number of Years in West End	Median Number of Years in West End	Total Families Reporting Length of Residence at Present Address	Average Number of Years at Present Address	Median Number of Years at Present Address
F-6	6	20	4.83	1.5	20	3.39	1.5
	9	20	9.52	2	20	3.47	2
		40	7.17	-	40	3.42	-
H-1	9&						
	10	75	13.75	10.5	77	9.14	5
	15	73	6.76	3.7	73	6.26	3.5
		148	10.30	-	150	7.74	-
H-2	11	36	18.49	18	36	10.34	7
H-3	10	30	18.03	14	30	6.48	5
H-4	10	39	11.18	5	40	4.92	2
	22	41	15.71	11.5	44	7.93	6
		80	13.51	-	84	6.44	-
K-1	6	83	5.92	3	85	4.50	3
	9	34	7.98	5	34	7.77	5
		117	6.52	-	119	5.83	-
K-2	13	80	7.63	3	83	6.66	3
	27	49	8.08	5	49	6.22	4
		129	7.80	-	132	6.50	-
TOTAL		580	10.12	-	591	6.62	-

